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# T.R.B. from Washington

*Can't Republicans Count?*

★ The polls are certainly trying to tell us something and I think it is that the Republicans can throw away this election as they did the last two. Rocky could have beaten Kennedy in 1960, and almost anybody could have run better than Goldwater in 1964 (and who was that other little fellow who ran with him?)

Look at 1968 as a student of politics. Everything favors the Republicans, the Outs: an unpopular war, an unpopular president, riots, deficits, inflation, higher taxes, a deep, urgent national unrest. And what do the polls show? – Why, that either Humphrey or McCarthy could beat Nixon, says Gallup; that either McCarthy or Humphrey could beat Nixon, says Harris. And whom will the GOP nominate? – why, Nixon, of course!

I'm not going to give Republicans advice and I doubt whether Ray Bliss will send a delegation to this magazine to ask for it. But there is a mean little story flitting around Washington the way they do: seems Nixon had a nightmare, he was nominated without opposition and he watched with joy the Democrat drop out in the campaign but (in the nightmare) he still came in second.

The Rockefeller staff admits that Nixon is a two-to-one favorite in the Republican Establishment. Very likely he has the nomination sewed up. But these new tactics of Rockefeller are revolutionary and will affect every other election if they succeed. What the nation hardly yet realizes is the emergence of the polls and TV as crucial political instruments. This is possible because America's campaigns are so long. Look at Canada, they completed an election in two months. Look at France, they did it in a few weeks. But the US election takes about a year and a half. The polls press down on everything.

The polls said George Romney was getting nowhere: he dropped out. Mr. Johnson's popularity fell to 34 percent; he quit. And now in the supreme test Rockefeller has not even entered the old-fashioned primaries; he is putting on a multi-million dollar advertising blitz to influence the polls. If the polls indicate he can win whereas Nixon can't, some republican delegates may, reluctantly, switch; who knows?

The latest Gallup poll is "a sample of 1,483 adults." Let's assume the Harris poll is about the same – around 3,000 in all. And Governor Rockefeller is spending some $5 million to influence those 3,000. That works out at $1,666 a person; the people polled are becoming more important than the convention delegates.

*Back to Congress*

★ The last poor man elected president was Harry Truman and there will be few in future unless reforms are made. There is now almost no limit to what rich men can contribute and do it pretty much in secrecy under the 43-year-old Corrupt Practices Act which Mr. Johnson last year called "more loophole than law." One president after another has begged for reform. Congress shrugs. It is just one of those things – like the Electoral College.

It so happens that there is now a chance, however, that Congress will act. The rub is always the House. The Senate passed a reform bill last September, 87 to 0. The House Committee on Administration has been dawdling for a year. But now, six weeks before adjournment, it has finally reported out a measure, too late, of course, for this election but available for the next. Both bills, Senate and House, abandon the effort to limit individual campaign contributions. They would substitute complete disclosure: every contribution over $100 would be listed, for primary, for general election, for House, for Senate, for President. Funds raised at testimonial dinners, like those of Sen. Dodd (D. Conn.) are banned.

The Senate puts the affair into the hands of the Clerk of the Senate and the Secretary of the Senate while the House sets up a new Federal Elections Commission. Not much difference, perhaps, but enough to cause delay and probably postpone the whole thing one more time.

Meanwhile, in one of those ignoble little tricks that make you feel maybe communism has something to be said for it, Senate and House, with a wink and a smirk, without debate or record vote, slipped through on June 11 a bipartisan bill permitting tax-deductible advertisements in party convention programs. Are you head of a big corporation? Do you want a war contract? Better buy a page or two in our slick-paper souvenir program! One more loophole in the make-believe law and let us out, please, we need air.

Well, you say to yourself, suppose the GOP nominated Rocky and did win; it wouldn't be so bad, would it? The real question is how far Congress would swing right. It is probably going to swing that way anyway. It's not really a question of Republicans v Democrats; it's conservatives v liberals: the Lot's Wife-rear-view-mirror Crowd v the Modernists.

According to well-informed United Auto Workers, the 89th Congress had 171 conservatives in the House, 58 middle-roaders and 206 liberals. It passed Johnson's splendid package of social legislation. Then came the disaster of midterm, 1966: the present Congress has 206 conservatives, 62 in the middle, and only 167 liberals. As we write this the conservatives are chipping away at the poverty and school programs.

Always at the expense of the poor. Take the program to raise taxes and cut spending. It will cool off business activity, we suppose. And how? – by raising unemployment maybe one percent, throwing some 800,000 out of work, visiting hardship on several million in their families. Their enforced idleness will help to hold down prices, Luther Tyson of the National Council of Churches told a Congressional Committee here last week, but he asked with passion, "Are they not performing a social function that gives them a claim on society?" Yes, he said, they deserved support from a federal guaranteed income. It's always the poor. If the Lot's Wife Crowd wins more seats this fall we may be pillars of salt.

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**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Opinion Volume 159 Number 1 Issue 2796 July 6, 1968*
*Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright© 1968 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

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# A Fourth Party

The same old double game is being played. The associates of Mr. Nixon and Vice President Humphrey claim privately that the nominees of each party have already been chosen, and that anyone who wants a piece of the action should stop chasing rainbows. The "nominees" themselves are more modest. They can hardly say that the score can be posted before the game is over; that would suggest a "fix." Cynicism runs deep among the players of professional politics; nevertheless, the voters must not come to believe that it is not they who pick the winners.

What is more fascinating, and hopeful, about 1968 than what Humphrey or Nixon says is that the two front-running candidates may not be the ones the voters want at all. These abandoned, uncounted but numerous voters may be rescued by the nomination of Eugene McCarthy or Nelson Rockefeller. However, the betting is that they will not. In state after state (most recently in Minnesota, Connecticut, Michigan, Missouri and Oklahoma), administration loyalists ran roughshod over substantial anti-Humphrey forces, raising some question about who runs the party. At the last Democratic Convention in 1964, 54.6 percent of the delegates were party officials (36.8 percent public officials), which partly explains why convention delegates, left to themselves, are more attentive to party leaders and functionaries than to volunteers who get into politics for purposes larger than partisan duty or personal reward.

There is no sign to date of any slackening on the part of the supporters of Senator McCarthy or Governor Rockefeller. But it is plainer each day that the new politics for which they speak cannot be entrusted solely to the good keeping of the delegates to Miami and Chicago. Something extra is required as a precaution. Those who perceive the wisdom of not putting all their eggs in two baskets are therefore beginning to discuss preparing the way for a fourth party in '68 (Governor Wallace having made a third).

If this were a more settled decade with fewer and less raw tensions within the United States and between ourselves and revolutionary movements abroad, it might be said that conventional choices are supportable, that neither Humphrey nor Nixon would be all that bad. Is not politics, after all, a choice between lesser evils? But this is not a settled decade. The break-up of the communist empire, the discrediting of an imperial mission for America, the growing militance of the blacks, the tough questioning of our national purposes by the

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young – all these have overtaken and overturned the accepted notions of conventional politicians. A modern leadership, awake, free to shape the future in new ways is what we need. That is why, without any diminishing of the campaigns to nominate McCarthy and Rockefeller as the Democratic and Republican candidates, an alternative should be prepared in the event they and their policies are cast aside.

The justification, finally, for a new party is that it will be one of two parties, for there is strength and stability in a two-party system. In other circumstances, in 1948, *The New Republic* opposed a third party (the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace). But that was 20 years ago, and experience here, as in other areas, is no longer an absolute guide. The world has radically changed since then, and as represented by Nixon and Humphrey, the two major parties have not changed correspondingly.

A fourth party is both carrot and stick. It invites politicians to profit from the depth and breadth of popular disenchantment by responding sympathetically to it in the selection of nominees and the drafting of platforms. It is a threat of retaliation if they do not. And the threat is to each party. (Had Theodore Roosevelt not bolted the Republican Party in 1912, the Democratic nominee would in all probability have been Champ Clark, not Woodrow Wilson.) The threat must be credible, however. That means an alternative in being by November.

The organizers of a new force in politics this year would be underestimating their potential power, however, were they to proceed as if they could do no more than influence the Democratic and Republican conventions. In this extraordinary year, they may well elect the next President. They may do it because, as *The New York Times* recently editorialized, "The ones who are out of step plainly are not the people, but the established political leaders in both parties and all the observers, analysts and pollsters who are mired with them in the certainty that the election of 1968, for all its early aberrations, will settle tidily into the pattern of institutional and block control they understand best." Then too, there is the longer future to be thought of. Something *will* replace the outworn, fragmented Democratic coalition that came into being under Franklin Roosevelt. The construction of the new coalition should begin promptly. Concern for the future, moreover, includes within it a good hunk of the present. For a fourth party in 1968 would put forward leaders in whom dissatisfied millions can have confidence *now*, a release for frustration among young people, the poor, the blacks and the many more who want an end to the domination of our thinking and our national budget by the military. These people want representation *now*, not later, and they can get it if they take responsibility. Nothing so invigorates the democratic process as the doing by the citizens of what must be done.

A fourth party can emerge reasonably soon, in time for November, if its initiators are numerous and zealous enough. As of today, a fourth party or an independent slate of electors could still get on the ballot under existing laws in 41 states, including the District of Columbia. There is no uniform pattern among the 50 states. *Congressional Quarterly* summarizes it this way: "Any third [or fourth] party must make a careful analysis of each state's laws to determine the best way to qualify an elector slate. There are two ways (1) Through official recognition as a new or minor political party under the statutory definition set by the state. Once a new group has so qualified, it may generally nominate its candidate for Presidential electors by convention, and the names of its national nominees would appear on the general election ballot. But in many states a new or minor party cannot qualify unless it has received a stipulated percentage of the vote in some recent election in the state. In such cases, a new party must look to a second alternative: (2) Through the legal qualification of an 'independent' slate of electors. Generally, a said number of petition signatures are required to nominate independent electors. If the independent elector slate strategy is adopted, state laws vary – and in many cases are ambiguous – as to whether the name of the new group's presidential and vice presidential candidates would appear on the ballot with the slate of electors pledged to them. Some states might simply list a group of independent elector candidates with no ballot notation showing to whom they are pledged; others would probably find a way, in statute or by administrative decision, to indicate the name of the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the new party."

To illustrate, to get on the ballot in California under present law, an independent candidate needs nomination papers signed by voters equal in number to five percent of the vote cast in the last gubernatorial election (330,293 signatures). These papers must be filed

NEXT WEEK: *Michael Miles on what candidates are, and aren't, saying about the cities*



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on or before September 21. In Arizona, an independent candidate can be on the ballot in the general election if a petition has been signed by 3,783 voters and been filed within 10 days after the primary election (September 20). In Connecticut, names of presidential electors for an independent presidential candidate must be filed before August 13. In Idaho, a new party may nominate an electoral slate by a convention at which there are at least 200 delegates, held on August 6; a certificate of nomination must then be filed with the Secretary of State, not later than 20 days after the regular primary (August 26). In Minnesota, minor party and independent presidential elector slates may be placed on the ballot, provided a nominating petition signed by 2,000 qualified voters is filed on or before September 10. In New York, new parties and independent candidates can get on the ballot, so long as a nominating petition signed by at least 12,000 voters of whom at least 50 shall reside in each county, is filed by the fourth Tuesday before October 8. In the state of Washington, all that is required is a nominating convention of at least 100 registered voters, to be held September 17. The nomination certificate must be signed by 100 registered voters, and filed no later than the first Tuesday after September 24.

There are states which, for all practical purposes, preclude any successful new party bid this year. Under law, it is too late to get an independent slate in Alaska, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas or in West Virginia.

But in these instances, the laws themselves need challenging in federal court. (George Wallace has threatened just such a challenge in Ohio.) Laws which have the effect of foreclosing one's right to vote in any way other than Democratic or Republican will not stand under attack. Twenty years ago, the courts might have said that they could not get into this "political thicket." That is no longer true. The Court has made it plain, in its one man, one vote, decision, for example, that you can't fabricate a majority in a legislature by weighting votes among the electorate. The analogy from that to the fabricating of a governing majority by foreclosing access to the ballot is not a distant analogy. Furthermore, any effective prohibition of the right of independent electors or a new party to be on the ballot runs counter to the right of association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

So who would the candidates of a fourth party be? No answer can be given until the Democratic and Republican conventions have ended. But the pairing of Eugene McCarthy and John Lindsay or McCarthy and Rockefeller is suggestive; or vice versa. That decision can be deferred. Laying the groundwork for a new party of the Good Society cannot. Politics this year *is* the art of the impossible. The way to begin is to begin.

# The Military Appetite

Congress having won a $6 billion budget cut finally passed President Johnson's long-sought 10 percent income-tax surcharge. It did so to save the dollar from going down the drain, to brake the steady upward climb of prices that by one estimate is costing American families $17 billion a year, and to prick a ballooning budgetary deficit of $25 billion. But the Senate, almost in the same breath, defeated attempts by Eugene McCarthy, John Sherman Cooper and others to withhold funds already authorized in the House, from a new military boondoggle. (Vice President Humphrey was in the Senate, ready if needed to break a tie vote.) The anti-ballistic missile system (ABM) may cost $50 or $100 billion unless a new arms race is averted through discussions with the Soviet Union. The Russians are ready to open talks.

There is no way, in reason, to reconcile congressional contradictions between budget-cutting as the price of a tax rise, and new military splurging. The administration bears some blame here. When Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said he couldn't okay a $15 billion tax rise unless the administration promised to cut $6 billion from the budget, Mr. Johnson at first protested that it was out of the question because of the damage to health, education and welfare programs. Mills replied that a $6 billion budget cut need not and would not fall on such programs. It was assumed the saving would come out of new military construction, especially the ABM which last fall nobody much wanted. Why the change? Seemingly, it's Nixon. Loudly – and alone among the presidential candidates – he accused the administration of "swinging the economy axe heavily against the national security budget." It was a wickedly shrewd thing to say. Nixon knows which the sacred cows are.

Last September, former Defense Secretary McNamara said an anti-ballistic missile system could touch off a new arms race with Russia and would be largely ineffective against any Soviet attack. The best nuclear defense was still deterrence. But McNamara allowed the Joint Chiefs to persuade him into weakly supporting a little ABM against China, on the vague possibility that the Chinese might attack one day, despite this country's obvious ability to annihilate them as a going concern ten times over. The arguments McNamara employed were so feeble that most observers had no difficulty concluding he was offering a mini-ABM mainly as a political deterrent against ambitious Republicans like Nixon, who might try in an election year to turn against incumbent Democrats the late President Kennedy's "missile gap" against Eisen-



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hower. But McNamara worried that a little ABM would lead to "pressures to expand it into a heavy Soviet-oriented ABM system." Others worried too, including Jerome Wiesner, provost of MIT and formerly scientific adviser to President Kennedy. McNamara cited Wiesner to buttress his own opposition to a full-fledged ABM; he failed to mention that Wiesner opposed the compact model also. Wiesner still does. In a blunt letter to *The New York Times* last week, he wrote: "It is silly to waste a penny on it. We desperately need money to apply to badly neglected and more urgent problems at home." Wiesner, who is backed by most scientists, doubts the ABM system will work; its main components are obsolete.

But in the Senate last week, unreason was in the saddle. Senator Jackson argued in effect that if Russia has an ABM (nobody knows), we have to build one, even if we don't know whether either will work; for if the Russians mistakenly think theirs works, they may be tempted to attack. How Soviet delusions are to be cured by this country's sharing them, the senator left unclear. The line taken by McNamara's successor, Clark Clifford, is even fuzzier. A "little" American ABM may deter the Russians from the folly of building a big one (they stop, then we stop); alternatively, a little ABM is a building block toward a big ABM that will "protect" this country from China *and* Russia. McNamara said in September that if this country built an anti-Soviet ABM, that would not cause the Russians to halt, it would spur them on.

The plain fact is that the ABM exemplifies a need, now become urgent, to embargo constant increases in military spending. And recognition of this has nothing to do with "doves" versus "hawks." Senator Symington, a former Air Force Secretary, opposes the ABM because he does not believe it will work. But in addition, Symington is worried by the ever-upward trend of military spending. The senator said on June 21: "Each year the demand for research and development in the Department of Defense increases to the point where it now amounts to $8 billion a year [not counting funds for space]. This money has been put up faithfully on the floor of the Senate, year after year. I now challenge the results. What has come out of these vast sums? . . . We have had missile program after missile program. Then they put them on the shelf, either because they are obsolete, or because they do not think they will be needed, or because they do not work." If the "gigantic cost" of the military establishment is not reduced, Symington warned on June 24, the result must be national bankruptcy.

It was precisely to avert financial breakdown that Congress passed the $15 billion tax rise. Congress was frightened into it by the gold crisis, the threatened $25 billion budget deficit, rising prices and the highest interest rates in a century, most of them caused by the Vietnam war. But already, hope is fading of diverting funds from the Vietnam war to schools, housing, pollution control – programs already approved by Congress but which Congress failed to fund properly. The Pentagon is now saying that the level of Vietnam spending, just under $30 billion a year, will not begin even to taper off until well after the actual fighting stops. And anyway, the military intend trying to retain $10 billion a year, out of the $30 billion. They argue that the 4,000 aircraft so far lost in Vietnam will have to be replaced, and that other "military inventories depleted by the war" must be rebuilt. That alone will keep military spending above an annual $60 billion mark. On top of that, there's the need to "reequip the armed forces with new strategic and tactical weapons," including the ABM. Thus, military spending even without Vietnam can easily exceed $100 billion a year by 1970. After Korea, President Eisenhower cut back military spending. Nixon in the White House probably wouldn't, and we can't be sure about Humphrey. That limits the choices for Americans who want to vote for peace and prosperity, against bankruptcy and war.

# Change at the Court

When Earl Warren took his seat as Chief Justice of the United States on October 5, 1953, an era opened in the history of the Supreme Court. The beginning – and what a beginning – was the school desegregation decision, *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. Since then, the Court has ordered the reapportionment of the national House of Representatives and of both houses of state legislatures on an approximate one man, one vote basis; it has outlawed prayer and bible-reading in the public schools; it has enlarged and made more uniform throughout the United States the rights of the accused in criminal trials; and it has laid down a whole set of new rules to govern the conduct of police. The Court has also – this list is, of course, not comprehensive – legalized birth control, put a severe damper on prohibitions of travel, and limited if not abolished the power of government to deny employment to persons whose associations are deemed subversive. It has rewritten the law of libel so that vigorously adverse, and even false, criticism of public officials and other public figures which used to be actionable is now protected. And last, and either least or not least according to taste, the Court has proclaimed what one recent book only moderately overstates as the end of obscenity.

This is quite a record, even though there are some who consider that the Court has cut corners in making it, has been astute to define limits on the authority of



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other institutions while disregarding the limits applicable to its own, and has not always submitted itself to the discipline of closely reasoned, principled opinions justifying its actions. Even so, it requires more self-confidence, and more self-righteousness than is proper, for the Warren Court's contemporaries to be entirely confident in foretelling the judgment of history one way or the other.

Chief Justice Warren's personal contribution stands forth in the great number of opinions in the most important cases, which, with a fitting sense of the traditional primacy of his office, he assigned to himself. Through much of his tenure, and certainly in the last half of it, when many of the great strides were taken, the Chief Justice was a member of the dominant majority. Whether he was also its intellectual leader, and altogether how significant a force he was in the inner life of the Court, we cannot yet know.

While Chief Justice Warren's accession began an era, it does not necessarily follow that his retirement closes it. On the issues that have been more or less the familiar ones over the past decade and a half, there seems to be a majority on the Court. The Chief Justice's departure may diminish it, but not dissolve it.

The new Chief Justice designate, Abe Fortas, occupies a position substantially similar to that of his predecessor. As we noted at the time of his appointment to the court, he is one of the ablest lawyers of his generation. The nomination must have given the President special satisfaction, for Mr. Fortas has been an intimate advisor almost from the first day Lyndon Johnson came to Washington as a young Congressman.

Judge Homer Thornberry of Texas, whom the President has nominated to the vacancy created by Fortas' elevation, is an old congressional and personal friend, latterly a judge of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, where Mr. Johnson placed him a few years ago. Nothing in his record there would indicate that he will be a dissident voice in his new surroundings. On the Court of Appeals he exercised a subordinate judicial function, which did not give full scope for the expression of his own convictions. His confirmation by the Senate seems assured. He is, as Senator Dirksen has said, "a very solid citizen."

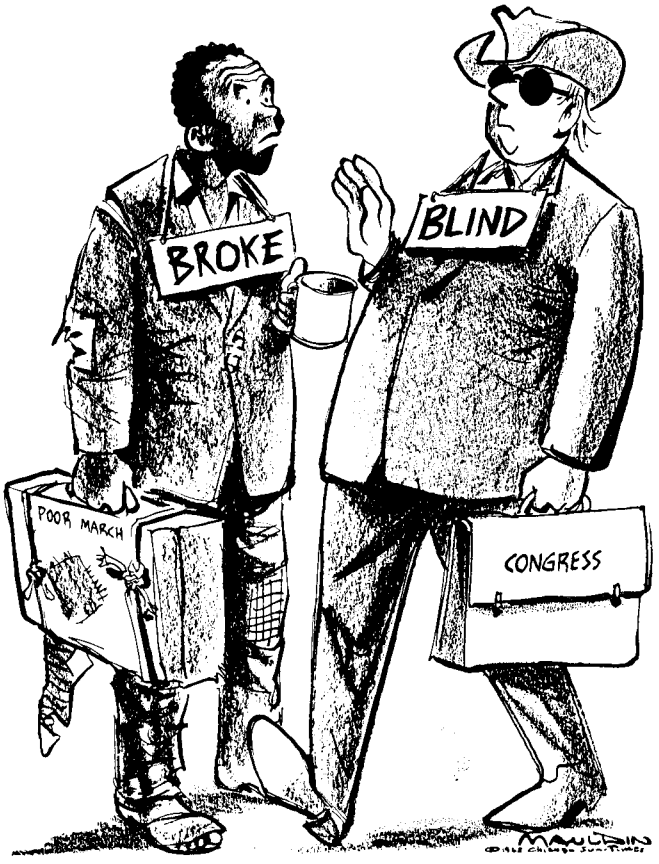
# Get Out of Town

At the very least, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference thought the encampment at Resurrection City might move the government to make a few trifling concessions to the poor, such as a bit more free food and the *promise* of more jobs and inexpensive housing. The concessions were meagre.

Thus, following conversations between officials at the Justice Department and spokesmen for Indian groups, the department announced it would review the 1966 prosecution of Indians and of Dick Gregory, for illegal fishing in the state of Washington. Their conviction was recently upheld by the Supreme Court. The Indians wanted to net fish on certain rivers in the state. And while netting is proscribed under the law, the Indians claimed they had a right to do so under the Yakima treaty of 1855.

Then, the Office of Economic Opportunity promised it would ensure greater participation by the poor in the planning, conduct and evaluation of community action programs. But this turns out to mean little more than sending around a set of draft instructions for a simplified appeals procedure, should the poor feel they are being excluded. There is no enforcement provision which would guarantee their being brought in on planning and running the programs.

Then, after Ralph Abernathy's discussions with officials at the Agriculture Department there were indications it would increase the variety of foodstuffs it gives away under the food surplus program, and begin food stamp programs in 140 new counties. However, last week the House Agriculture Committee rejected, 26-4, legislation which would have removed the $225 million ceiling on the program and made the proposed



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expansion possible. Moreover, Secretary Freeman is turning back to the Treasury $227 million of funds specifically earmarked for the surplus foods program. The department always has argued that this money can only be spent to maintain producers' markets, not on foods for the hungry. The act, however, says foods purchased are to be distributed "among persons in low-income groups." Meanwhile Senator Eastland gets $13,000 a month from the government as payment for not planting his land.

Before Resurrection City was closed last week, some dim-witted park policemen were firing tear gas canisters into the camp wholesale (85 rounds), apparently in order to stop rowdies from throwing rocks at cars. The action reflected the mood in the city and and in the federal government. To hell with the poor. Everyone is sick of them. They are dirty, immoral, surly and unreasonable. They have ruined the image we wish to have of them as proper little beggars. Well, the Congress can't buy enough gas to contain them.

# Highway Juggernaut

The ashes of Washington's April riot had not cooled when the federal Bureau of Public Roads sent highway engineers to survey the possibility of an urban freeway along burned-out Seventh Street, Northwest, now that property values were down. BPR was merely following the classic strategy for public "improvements": to take the route of least political resistance. That the agency could think, for a moment, of cutting through the heart of an angry black community and across the campus of Howard University is a measure of its understanding of urban social values and current modes of resistance. Across the nation, BPR is pushing hard for the construction of urban sections of the interstate highway system that would degrade city life. It is backed by a complex, interlocking cabal of state highway departments, politically powerful construction companies, interstate trucking and bus companies, automobile manufacturers and dealers and satellite industries such as the tire manufacturers. The highway lobby probably commands more local and national political pressure than the famous "military-industrial complex." It demands completion of an interstate highway system laid out years before cities, states and the federal government organized themselves to consider urban transportation problems as only one part of the complex of city problems. The lobby remains indifferent to the charge that urban freeways, serving suburbanites and interstate trucking, are often "white roads through black bedrooms." The roads must go through, no matter if they destroy precious green space on Staten Island, ram through the Vieux Carre of New Orleans, Brackenridge Park in San Antonio or Overton Park in Memphis. No matter if they encase the banks of the Potomac in concrete and cut a multi-lane swath across the Washington Mall.

Until recently, the "Road Gang" has been a power unto itself. BPR has been the most independent of federal agencies, with its own source of income in the Highway Trust Fund, which takes in more than $4-billion a year from gasoline taxes and other user fees. It can offer 90 percent federal financing for any interstate highway segment, including those that run through cities. This creates an almost irresistible inducement to cities to build more freeways instead of examining alternatives. When it comes to laying out these freeways, the cities are largely at the mercy of highly independent, rurally-oriented state highway departments.

One reason for the creation of a federal Department of Transportation last year was to curb this independent juggernaut. Section 4F of the 1966 law establishing the department directed the Secretary to withhold approval of any transportation plan or project "which requires the use of any land from a public park, recreation area, wildlife and waterfowl refuge, or historic site unless (1) there is no feasible and prudent alternative to the use of such land, and (2) such program includes all possible planning to minimize harm. . . ." The proposed freeway program of the District of Columbia Highway Department has become the central test of this new power. The program includes a new Potomac River crossing, the Three Sisters Bridge, which would take extensive parklands in Virginia and the District and create the need for a freeway crossing the Washington Mall in a tunnel under the Lincoln Memorial. It also includes, in a freeway through north central Washington, a classic example of "white roads through black bedrooms."

Last December Alan S. Boyd, the Secretary of Transportation, withheld his approval of this freeway program until alternatives could be developed to reduce the encroachment on parklands and the destruction of homes in the central city. The highway lobby responded with a display of its political muscle. So the House Public Works Committee has approved amendments to the 1968 Federal Aid Highway Act ordering the full execution of the District Highway Department's plans. The bill would not only override Boyd's power under section 4F, but also would nullify a court order delaying the District highway program until the District government complied with laws requiring full public hearings on the issues. Going beyond the local problems of Washington, the committee amended section 4F to gut the Secretary's "reasonable and prudent" alternatives to transporta-



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tion plans or projects which encroach on park land.

The bill seems assured of House passage, even though it rides roughshod over the jurisdiction of the House District of Columbia Committee and the House Commerce Committee (which handled the 1966 Department of Transportation Act). Public Works is the pork barrel committee, and few House members care to oppose it in an election year. The highway lobby has not been idle in lining up support. This dangerous power play must be stopped in the Senate.

# South Side Story

For months Senator John McClellan's investigations subcommittee (of Joe Valachi fame) has been scrounging around the South Side of Chicago for dirt to discredit the OEO job project that has used street gang members both as teachers and trainees. He has come up with a couple of witnesses – "Mad Dog" Rose, a former leader, and "Mama" Martin, a gang mother – whose charges, if true, accomplish McClellan's objective. Rose claims that rifles and other weapons were stockpiled in a Chicago church participating in the employment training, that the Rev. John Fry passed along a murder assignment to him, that the pastor counseled gang members in extortion, bailed them out of jail and countenanced drugs in his church. Mama Martin repeated the allegations – all unproved but not refuted either. Mr. Fry says the guns were there to be turned over to the cops as part of a disarmament scheme; bail money came from private sources; and the other charges are malicious lies. Somebody *is* lying. The verdict isn't in.

The impression McClellan has sought to convey is that federal money has been used to bankroll criminality, that gang youths neither deserve job training nor a part in devising programs of self-help. He rejects out of hand the idea that slum people can be enlisted to help one another. Now, even the Office of Economic Opportunity isn't so sure about Chicago.

The political risks of the Chicago venture were understood by former OEO Director Sargent Shriver; some months ago officials started to put the brakes on. Last November OEO fired Jerome Bernstein, the man who had worked most closely with the Woodlawn Organization – the grant recipient. According to Bernstein, it was decided at that time, after consultations with Rep. Roman Pucinski, that the project would not be refunded.

The Woodlawn Organization, set up in 1961 by 100 religious, civic and business organizations, administered the $927,000 OEO grant which McClellan finds so shocking. Having behind it a successful record in slum projects, urban renewal, job retraining, and programs for children such as Head Start, the Woodlawn group last year drew up a proposal for job training that would engage Chicago gangs. Woodlawn recognized that the gangs were "an illegitimate structure," mixed up in murder among other things, but a structure built up nevertheless to deal with the real problems of slum life. The gangs had provided protection and prestige for their members. It was reasoned that since community organizing ("maximum feasible participation" of the poor) is difficult but essential for any successful ghetto program, the Rangers and their rivals, the Disciples, could not be excluded. During the West Side riots in 1966 the Blackstone Rangers' leadership was helpful in preventing violence on the South Side. The Rangers, the police, the Woodlawn Organization, the churches, all worked together. The Rangers manned a command post set up at First Presbyterian to check rumors of incidents, report them to the police, and dispatch leaders to cool potential rioters. On Bud Billiken Day, the gang holiday traditionally set aside each year for skirmishes, the Rangers organized an outing away from Chicago. When the Woodlawn Organization applied for OEO money last year, officials told the Rangers that to get the program they would have to negotiate a lasting truce with the Disciples, which they did.

The Woodlawn-OEO project was designed to take several hundred unemployed school dropouts, some of them gang members, and train them for work. The gangs were involved in the planning, design and execution. Gang kids were hired as recruiters, instructors and aides and paid bonuses for bringing people in for job training ($5.00 for each person recruited who remained in the program for at least five weeks and who attended regularly; $5.00 for each person who, once employed, stayed with the job.) Youths enrolled were paid a training stipend if their attendance was good.

That the program worked at all is in danger of being obscured by the political infighting that has surrounded it – pressure from Chicago congressmen that it not be refunded; the hostility of the head of Chicago's community action agency, the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, who demanded that he appoint his own director of the job project; harassment by Chicago police who have arrested gang members in the project on trumped-up charges later withdrawn (see "Gang-Busting in Chicago," June 1) and bickering at OEO for supervisory control.

Some $760,000 of the money allocated to the Woodlawn Organization has been spent on enrolling 490 young trainees, referring 105 of them for job interviews, and having 61 of them in jobs (as of the end of May). Some of the more controversial aspects of the project, such as incentive bonuses for recruitment, were abandoned in January because, OEO, like Mc-



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Clellan, was worried about what recruiters were doing with the money. Until evaluation, now in progress, is completed, Don Hess, OEO's Associate Director for community action programs, won't predict whether OEO will risk another year of an effort of limited returns: "I want to be sure that it's emphasized that this is one of OEO's *laboratory* programs," he said last week. "It was purposely a research and demonstration program. No one – the police, the churches, civic organizations – no one has been able to make this element of society a productive and constructive one. What is the answer and what do you have to pay for it? It's not just dollars. We're not saying that the design we had was a successful one. We're taking a look at this right now. We have some ideas as to how we would re-do it if we were going to refund it. But I think we have got to be willing to take the risk if we're going to make any move at all."

DAVID SANFORD

# Absentee Voters

*Norman, Oklahoma*

The McCarthy organization in Cleveland County began on the campus of the University of Oklahoma with an informal meeting at a fraternity house. John Kelly, a graduate student in English, was chosen as "coordinator." Under him were two lieutenants – one in charge of the campus, one in charge of organizing support for the county convention. They were supported by a large and enthusiastic body of students, faculty, and townsfolk. They raised money, opened a headquarters, distributed literature, passed out bumper-stickers. They studied the rules, canvassed the precincts, set up a booth in the student union, and held a campus rally. It was not much of a surprise when Senator McCarthy won the *Time-Life* college election on campus, and by a percentage significantly higher than the national average.

Meanwhile, Jack Lehrer, the law student in charge of the off-campus campaign, was hard at work preparing for the precinct meetings which would send delegates to the county convention. Lists of McCarthy supporters were compiled for each precinct, promises were extracted for attendance at the meetings, precinct captains were chosen to supervise the effort. The senator swept most of the university precincts clean and had made impressive inroads in some of the other Norman districts.

Dan Rambo, the county chairman, was properly alarmed. After all, his own precinct had gone unanimously to McCarthy and the county convention, which had always been perfunctory, was shaping up into a potential catastrophe. He had only three days before the convention, and he snapped into action. "All of the McCarthy supporters were either OU students or faculty members," he told the local paper. Next, he called Kelly and tried to make a deal. He offered McCarthy backers a substantial minority to the state convention. When Kelly politely declined, Rambo called back offering an even more substantial minority, which Kelly declined. At the same time, Dan Rambo was out in the backwoods gathering up the proxies.

The constitution of the Democratic Party in Oklahoma is very specific about proxies. They have to be notarized and signed over to a member of the same sex *within the precinct. Only precinct chairmen and co-chairmen can sign over their proxies to the county chairman.* It was the judgment of the McCarthy people that Rambo did not have enough time to make the necessary arrangements for the legal casting of a significant number of proxies. They were right. And it didn't matter.

On the day of the convention, Dan Rambo had in his pocket about 123 proxies (the exact total was never clear), and they were signed directly to him. Just in case a few of them had not been properly notarized, an official with a suitable stamping machine appeared at the convention. In their innocence, the McCarthy delegates – who had crowded into the hall with pins, posters, and a decisive majority of those present – suggested that Rambo's control of 123 proxies was a violation of the party's constitution. While the assembled delegates waited for an hour, a committee of McCarthy supporters repaired to Rambo's law office, over in the First National Bank Building, to settle the question. They called William Kerr, son of the late senator and Chairman of the Oklahoma Central Democratic Committee. Kerr ruled that Rambo's proxies were legal. The McCarthy people were forcefully persuaded that if the convention overruled the decision and appealed to a higher body, that body would probably make a judgment not unlike Kerr's.

His hand thus sustained from above, Dan Rambo returned to the waiting convention to act out the charade. Kelly, who had no alternative, accepted a minority position for McCarthy delegates to the state convention; and on the basis of a "test vote" for temporary chairman of the meeting (a vote in which Rambo smilingly cast about 123 ballots for himself and emerged victorious by about a hundred), the percentages were fixed.

The resolutions were read one at a time and the assembled delegates dutifully waited to learn Rambo's pleasure. One suggestion from the grass roots was that precinct meetings hereafter be announced by postcard to each Democrat within the precinct. The vote was



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taken, the resolution passed handsomely. But not so fast. Rambo, perhaps judging that mailing out cards would alert a lot of amateurs to approaching precinct meetings, blushed a little and cast 123 votes against.

Someone moved to adjourn. But before a vote could be taken, a small voice had somehow made it known that she wanted to offer another resolution. One of the innocents. The McCarthy people, with one voice, shouted down the motion to adjourn so the lady in the third row could be heard out. But hell, it had been a tough day for Dan Rambo. Engagingly, he explained that 123 people who had never come felt that the meeting had lasted long enough. So the absent farmers, the absent suburbanites, the absent party hacks from all over Cleveland County voted to send the disgruntled intellectuals home.

DAVID W. LEVY

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# An Open Democratic Convention

Anyone who, in the days immediately following the GOP debacle at the Cow Palace in 1964, wandered off the political trails and mingled with the people found a great many of them who were disquieted over what they'd seen on TV and read in the press. The rigid discipline of the Goldwater cadres, the chorus of boos that drowned out Governor Nelson Rockefeller's speech, the antagonism toward the press, disturbed their sense of fair play. With that performance, the last, though even then flimsy, hope for the Goldwater-Miller ticket vanished. What millions of TV viewers and newspaper readers see and read about national conventions may have even greater impact in 1968. That assumption is one on which McCarthy's convention managers are basing their Chicago strategy.

They will be looking for nice, clean issues out of several convention committees – rules, credentials, platform – to build their case of the people *vs.* the politicians. They hope to give "uncommitted" delegates from the Kennedy camp, plus other clusters of delegates only "mildly" for Vice President Humphrey, a chance to get the habit of voting with them. The strategy will be hinged to an "open convention."

To Steve Mitchell, the former Democratic national chairman (under Adlai Stevenson from 1952-55) who is managing McCarthy's Chicago operation, the key issue is the unit rule, which he calls an "out-of-date" technique of political bosses. Here, in the Rules Committee the target will be the big, 104-vote Texas delegation. "We'll be putting up the specter of the boss issue, showing him [Lyndon Johnson] in the dominating position of making the decisions." This approach will arouse opposition in the South, where the unit rule has been popular, but should excite the liberal instincts of many northern and western delegates.

It ties in neatly to another pending fight, over credentials, particularly those of the Mississippi delegation. It now appears that the Mississippi regulars will sprinkle some black faces (two have already been selected) through their delegation. But what voice will they have, if that delegation is seated, should the majority (white) then impose a unit rule? The same can be said of other token efforts to comply with the new party ruling on integrated delegations.

Token representation, even if the unit rule is not applied, doesn't get at the real problem in a state such as Mississippi. There, a struggle has developed over some 30 county delegations to the state convention, because of what local observers call "blatant disregard of any requirements to open the party structure to the people."

Once again, the key issue becomes whether a political party is the property of those in power, or an instrument by which the people can, without undue interference, choose the leaders they want. Mississippi looks ideal as a test case. The argument centers around the procedure by which the delegation was selected rather than the composition of the delegation. Delegates at Chicago will no doubt be reminded that Hubert Humphrey played a significant role in working out a compromise that seated the establishment delegation over the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) challengers in 1964. Because of the tight control President Johnson exercised over the 1964 convention in Atlantic City, the MFDP challenge did not reach the floor. This year, anti-administration forces are expected to have enough votes on the credentials committee to bring it into the open, where millions can watch and learn how the insiders work to keep their power. This year's challenge will be made, if it's made, by a broader group called the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, co-chaired by Hodding Carter III of the Young Democrats and Aaron Henry of NAACP, and including the MFDP and the AFL-CIO. It is thus a coalition of backers of McCarthy, Humphrey (labor) and the late Sen. Kennedy.



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On a clean issue like the procedure used to pick the Mississippi delegation, numbers of delegates from states like California, New York, Michigan, Ohio and the District of Columbia might find themselves voting with the McCarthy contingent.

Plagued in state after state by the strong-arm tactics of the regulars, the McCarthy camp should have a variety of issues to draw upon at the proper moment in Chicago. For example, Vietnam. Can Humphrey hold a state like Texas and seem soft on prosecuting the war? On the other hand, can he hold a state like Michigan without edging back from a hard position?

Overriding all disputes inside the Stockyards will be the tug-of-war over convention officers, picked initially by National Chairman John Bailey's own committee but subject to ratification by the convention. Here is another opportunity to dramatize the open convention issue, inasmuch as the entire list, from the keynote speaker to the chairman of all the major committees, are Humphrey loyalists.

A key asset of the McCarthy camp, inside the hall, is the psychology of the practitioners of institutional politics. They have convinced themselves that, either by longevity of service or obedience to those above them, they have earned the right to run the show. Any attempt to alter established procedures evokes deep resentment in their ranks. Consequently, they can usually be counted on to lose their cool when their right to rule is challenged. And nothing infuriates them more than the idea of one of the presidential candidates coming to the floor; party lore insists the candidates stay away. When Sen. Estes Kefauver appeared in the hall in Chicago in 1952 and set off a demonstration, the party elders thought it very bad form. When Adlai Stevenson took his seat with Illinois in 1960, there were grumbles on all sides.

*"That's right. Us pros Don't take that # * o x * # McCarthy seriously."*

To Gene McCarthy, an "open convention" includes the right, indeed the duty, of candidates to come before the assembled delegates and speak. To the regulars, this is an astonishing thought. But to TV viewers, it will seem quite natural.

Outside the convention hall, there may be other happenings, not all of them necessarily favorable to McCarthy. TV viewers who might resent strong-arm tactics of the political establishment could well be frightened into sympathy with the establishment if things get bad outside. The worst thing that could happen to McCarthy would be to have to spend all week disassociating himself from bad-tempered demonstrations outside. If the bosses and their delegates were to play it cool in the hall while things got out of hand elsewhere, it could be disastrous. Provoking Dick Daley's cops is the last thing that's wanted.

McCarthy's managers are planning a massive demonstration, but all in "good taste." It will be part of the evidence of grass-roots support for an anti-administration candidate, support made evident earlier in every primary, while at the same time exposing the techniques the establishment uses to deprive the people of a free choice. But McCarthy's managers won't have absolute control in Chicago in August. Therein lies the danger.

Meanwhile, several tactics have been devised to solidify the support McCarthy has. One is the petition campaign. While most politicians are scornful of petitions, this campaign will give McCarthy's supporters an opportunity to keep their campaign alive, keep interest up and affect their candidate's standing in the polls between now and August.

Another is Sen. McCarthy's planned trip to Europe, intended to show that our public figures aren't all unpopular abroad, that one can visit the Vatican without using a helicopter to dodge hostile crowds. Europeans are beginning to discover McCarthy. A widely acclaimed tour of several major countries, with the attendant publicity, could be helpful.

Chicago is still two months away, and not all the 2,600-plus delegates to the convention have been selected. On paper, Vice President Humphrey holds a commanding lead. But there are other signs. The



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large bloc of Kennedy delegates, now generally listed as "uncommitted," haven't moved either way but are clustering together, awaiting events. They will be inclined to join the McCarthy camp on several vital votes at the convention.

In the South, there are 313 delegates. Until recently, these were attracted to Humphrey because he represents the people in power, and they were scared of Kennedy. Now, they are beginning to doubt whether Humphrey can be elected. His attraction to southern delegates correspondingly dims. In the weeks ahead, both Mitchell and McCarthy will be heading South to make contact with this vital group.

Their major weapon, however, is the "open convention" theme, and it is especially appropriate in 1968 when large numbers of voters, in the suburban and semi-suburban areas where a vital one-third of today's voters live, are weary of everything connected with politics-as-usual.

PAUL R. WIECK

# What Are We Waiting For?

*by Henry Steele Commager*

Two of the three major candidates for the Presidency are familiar, almost banal, figures, known to every adult American. Richard Nixon has been performing in Congress or in executive office for 20 years; he has spoken incessantly and his views are as well-known as his visage. Hubert Humphrey has had a comparable career in the Senate and the Vice Presidency. Both have been candidates for very high office and as such have spoken on, or just as eloquently avoided, national issues. Certainly by now we know enough about them to judge their fitness for the Presidency. Yet sophisticated editors, commentators, even academic observers, assure us that we do not know what policies these men will adopt and admonish us to await further revelations from the "new" Nixon and the Humphrey who will be his "own man."

Now all this wide-eyed waiting is not only childish, it is downright pernicious. It represents a kind of collective abdication of experience, a collective bankruptcy of reason, just at a time when we have nothing but experience and reason to fall back upon.

These attitudes and expectations are fallacious because they rest upon three mistaken assumptions. First is the assumption that you can judge the qualifications of a candidate for the Presidency – or for any important post – by the last thing he says, and this at a moment when there is the strongest temptation for a candidate to say not what he deeply believes, but what he thinks will win votes. Second is the assumption that what you want in a President – or any other public man – is not moral but verbal commitment, not character but fluency, not principles but adaptability. This in turn rests on a third fallacy – that men can and do change their character at a moment's notice, that they can slough off an old intellectual and moral skin and grow a new one, not in response to the dictates of Nature, as with reptiles, but in response to the exigencies of politics. It does not require a great deal of sophistication to reject these assumptions, but it requires more sophistication than our political neutralists are prepared to confess.

Statesmanship is not conjured up in the heat of a campaign; it is the product of a lifetime and rooted not in the molten lava of politics but in character. All of our Presidents illustrate this. Great Presidents like Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt did not suddenly unveil some "new" character in response to the demands of critics; they were what life had prepared them to be. Some of them – Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt, for example, matured under the stress of responsibility, but they matured organically,

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as it were; they did not suddenly sprout new traits of mind or character but deepened and sharpened qualities already engrained.

Some of the palpitating followers of Mr. Nixon and Mr. Humphrey anxiously hope that their candidates will, in the course of the campaign, either "make up" or "change" their minds about the great issues that confront us, and thus reassure us about the future. But this notion, too, is a fallacy. Men do not "make up" their minds; their minds are made up for them by a lifetime of experience. Men can no more "change" their minds than they can change their characters. They can modify old ideas and even get some new ones, they can turn their attention to new interests, but what they do, and the way they do it, and the reasons why they do it are all predictable and are the product of forces far too powerful and too pervasive to be overcome or deflected in response to momentary ambition or temptation or challenge.

We should select our Presidents, in short, not for the skill with which they slip in and out of new intellectual or moral clothes under the hot lights of television, nor for their resourcefulness in coming up with easy formulae in response to popular demand, but for character. What we look for in a President is what we look for in any man in whom we repose confidence and to whom we assign large responsibilities: a judge, a doctor, a teacher, a banker, the executive officer of any public institution. We look for character, intelligence, and judgment. It is not primarily experience. Experience, as Mr. Nixon conclusively illustrates, is useful only to those who can profit from it. It is wasted on those who cannot. Certainly Mr. Nixon's experience as Vice President and as consultant on foreign affairs taught him nothing about the great problems of the use and abuse of power – the problems of the war in Vietnam or our relations with western and with Chinese communism. Nor is knowledge, as distinguished from intelligence, a primary qualification for the Presidency; knowledge without judgment is arid and may be dangerous. General Westmoreland doubtless has more knowledge about the war in Vietnam than any other American, but his knowledge is of no use to him and is calamitous to others because it is not illuminated by understanding of the nature of this war.

Nor do we chose a President because he may know a great deal about American politics, or about the Presidency. Washington knew nothing about American politics, or about the Presidency, for there never had been such a thing before 1789, but he was a great President. Buchanan probably knew more about American politics than any other occupant of the White House, but in the judgment of historians.

Of the three serious candidates for the Presidency – for Gov. Wallace is a candidate but not serious, and Rockefeller is serious but not much of a candidate – both Nixon and Humphrey have more experience in public life than Senator McCarthy. What they lack, and what Senator McCarthy so conspicuously has, is the one indispensable quality of character. The evidence of their lack is, precisely, that even at this late date, when they are asking for our support for the most powerful office in the world, they are not prepared to let us know where they stand on the great issues which that office will decide. And we do not know where they stand not merely because they are evasive – which they are – but because *they themselves do not know where they stand.* After 20 years in public life neither Nixon nor Humphrey appears to know what he thinks on the greatest issues of our time or, if he does know, he is not prepared to say – which is worse because it is a kind of betrayal of the democratic process. These two candidates were outspoken enough in the past. Nixon, for example, knew and told us that he was against communism and for Senator Joseph McCarthy, against "Twenty Years of Treason" and for legislation that would ferret out "subversives," against the welfare state and for Senator Goldwater for President. Vice President Humphrey, too, knew what he thought and was not afraid to proclaim his beliefs: civil liberties, the expansion of the welfare state, moderation of the Cold War. But for the last four years he has supported aggressive war against Vietnam, the containment of "a billion" Chinese, and America as an Asian power, with equal enthusiasm. Whether these are genuine beliefs or merely policies he has defended out of party loyalty, we do not know. If the first, then he is lost even to those realities which President Johnson seems belatedly to recognize; if the second, then, for all his knowledge of the American political system, he has fallen into the error of supposing that there is something in the Constitution or the scheme of things that requires Vice Presidents to agree with Presidents on major policies – an error which a glance at the Constitution or a moment's reflection on the history of Vice Presidents from Jefferson to Jack Garner would have corrected. Mr. Humphrey may have strong convictions on foreign policy but quite clearly he is ready to accommodate these to the will of a stronger man. His inability, or unwillingness, to speak out clearly on foreign policy therefore represents not so much confusion of mind as confusion of character which, in a President, is more serious.

We do not need to wait to see or hear what these two candidates have to say about major issues before we can make up our minds between them. They have told us all we need to know about themselves. They



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have told us that they do not really have minds of their own, that they do not have consistent philosophies, that they are not prepared to trust the American people or to take them into their confidence. Above all, they have told us with a tireless insistence which they cannot now disavow, where they stand on the war in Vietnam: they stand at Armageddon. And to imagine that instead of Armageddon they are on some road to Damascus, and that some Holy Spirit will descend upon them and transform their character and their beliefs, is to delude ourselves.

There is only one candidate who stands the simple tests which all of us apply to every familiar situation – the tests of judgment, consistency, and character. That is Senator McCarthy. We do not need to ask where he stands, for he has told us. We do not need to wonder whether he believes what he says, for he has never said what he does not believe. We do not need to inquire where his loyalties are, for he has not wavered in his loyalties, and they have been to principles, not to men. We do not need to ask what he proposes to do about the war in Vietnam or about civil rights, because his record here is consistent, his campaign is consistent with his record, and his character is consistent with both. We do not need to await the birth of a "new" McCarthy, or the metamorphosis of the candidate back into the senator or forward into the President; we can take him as he was and as he is, confident that that is what he will be in the future. When we vote for Senator McCarthy we can have the satisfaction of knowing that we are voting not for an "image" but for integrity.

# *Drugs:* Deceptive Advertising

*by Morton Mintz*

*"Drug manufacturers are obliged to and do fulfill their responsibilities to provide the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth regarding their products."* – Howard A. Rusk, M.D., *The New York Times*, May 5, 1968.

In few areas of our mass-marketing, technological economy is the medieval doctrine of *caveat emptor* less relevant than for prescription drugs. "He who orders does not buy, and he who buys does not order," was the way the late Sen. Estes Kefauver described it. For a patient ("he who buys") the issue is more than economic: a potent medicine that is ineffective or less effective or safe than another preparation, may injure or even kill. In a woman, as thalidomide taught us, the consequence can be deformities in an unborn child. It is, therefore, of high importance to the public health that the physician ("he who orders") not be misled about the proper uses of the drugs that can be sold only if he prescribes them.

It can be extremely profitable to deceive physicians, however, and in Senate hearings, Kefauver established that they were deceived on a wide scale. He urged remedial legislation. This was achieved in 1962 in the Kefauver-Harris Amendments to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. "All advertisements and other descriptive matter" for prescription drugs, the amendments say, must carry "a true statement . . . in brief summary" of efficacy, side effects and contra-indications (medical conditions in which a drug should not be used). The "true statement" must be faithful to the labeling, or prescribing instructions, approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

The FDA devised implementing regulations which took effect in January 1964. Two years later, by estimate of FDA Commissioner James L. Goddard, the industry was spending between $600 million and $800 million annually to advertise and promote prescription drugs. With so much spent – about $3,000 per doctor per year – could Dr. Rusk be correct in saying that the companies "do fulfill their responsibilities to provide . . . nothing but the truth about their products"? With four-and-a-half years of regulation now behind us, a significant record of performance is available to be examined.

Under the regulations against false and deceptive advertising, the FDA has taken 33 formal, public actions against 26 manufacturers. Most of these actions have been taken in the last 18 months. The target manufacturers have included some of the largest. Ab-

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bott Laboratories and the Upjohn Co. each has been involved in three of the actions. The Armour Pharmaceutical Co., Geigy Pharmaceuticals and Wallace Laboratories each has been named in two actions. All told, the number of separate drug products involved is 45, including some of the most popular.

Claims deemed by the FDA to be false have been made in letters and circulars and in the now much-reformed *Physicians' Desk Reference,* which is the most widely used prescribing guide. But the most common vehicle for their circulation has been medical publications – at least 16 of them by my casual count. These are either professional journals, including some of the most prestigious, or throwaways which, being supported entirely or almost entirely by drug advertising, are mailed free to doctors. Again by my informal count, the professional publication that has figured most frequently – 15 times – in the FDA ad actions is the *Journal* of the American Medical Association. Among the throwaways the indicated front-runner is *Medical World News,* a McGraw-Hill publication. Second on the masthead, as Consulting Editor, is a physician who has a remarkable rapport with the drug industry. In his weekly column in a newspaper which has been discreet about his *Medical World News* connection he has praised the pricing policies of the industry that is the source of almost all of the revenues earned by *Medical World News.* After such a column was published on a Sunday in October 1966, an appreciative Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association reprinted it to assure wider circulation. The column, of course, was signed by Howard A. Rusk, M.D. *The New York Times* has not reported most of the drug advertising cases and the remaining few negligibly.

Of the 33 actions by the FDA against false and deceptive advertising, 5 were criminal prosecutions. Two of these proceedings ended when pleas of no contest were filed. Such a plea was filed by Wallace Laboratories in the case of Pree MT, which was promoted for uses including premenstrual tension, and by Armour Pharmaceutical in the case of Chymoral, which is used against inflammation and swelling. This July 1, Abbott Laboratories was scheduled to go to trial in a case involving Eutonyl, which is widely used for patients with severe high blood pressure that fails to respond to milder therapy. The other firms awaiting trial on pleas of innocent are CIBA Pharmaceutical Co. and Upjohn. The CIBA prosecution involves Esidrix and Esidrix-K, which are thiazide diuretics that drain excess water from tissues which have become swollen in association with diseases such as congestive heart failure. The Upjohn case concerns Orinase, an oral anti-diabetic. Among other things, the entry on Orinase in the 1965 *Physicians' Desk Reference* failed to repeat a statement from the FDA-approved labeling that the "*safety* and the usefulness of Orinase during pregnancy have not been established at this time, either from the standpoint of the mother or the fetus."

In five civil cases the FDA seized interstate shipments of the drugs involved for false and deceptive promotion. The companies and the drugs in these cases were: Warner-Chilcott Laboratories (Peritrate SA, for the massive chest pain of the heart condition known as angina pectoris); Wyeth Laboratories (Serax a tranquilizer/sedative); Upjohn (Lincocin, an antibiotic); Hoechst Pharmaceuticals (Lasix, a diuretic), and Ohio Chemical and Surgical Equipment Co. (Indoklon, an alternative to electroshock in some cases of depression).

With seizures and criminal prosecutions FDA fulfills its mandate as a regulatory agency. But these actions largely fail to fulfill the agency's mission to protect the public health. They are not directed at telling the doctor he may have been misled. Indeed, criminal prosecutions work *against* such disclosure. An inspired solution was devised by Dr. Robert S. McCleery, acting director of the FDA Bureau of Medicine's Medical Advertising Division, who won vigorous support from Dr. Goddard and his successor as Commissioner as of July 1, Dr. Herbert L. Ley Jr. The solution is the "corrective letter," a copy of which a manufacturer agrees to mail individually to more than 280,000 doctors. With this device, the FDA can compel a manufacturer to retract misleading claims quickly, before they become entrenched in the minds of physicians. In order for a "corrective letter" to be generated a major untruth must be involved. Since February 1967, 21 companies have sent 23 such letters, painful as they may have found it to tell physicians that they had made claims found by the FDA to be misleading or potentially misleading. The alternative to the letters would have been still more painful – stopping sales through seizures of shipments.

Easily the most impressive "corrective letter" case is a recent one involving Bristol Laboratories. In Dr. Rusk's *Medical World News,* in *Medical Tribune* (another throwaway) and in a promotional letter, Bristol Laboratories went beyond the FDA-approved labeling to promote its new Dynapen as a general purpose penicillin. This posed a grave danger – overuse of this semi-synthetic penicillin could imperil the whole class of these drugs as "reserves" against dread staphylococci germs. The possible consequences could be outbreaks, especially in hospitals, of severe and even fatal contagious staph infections resistant to the semi-synthetics. Despite pressures on behalf of Bristol exerted by well-connected Washington lawyers, the



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FDA embargoed shipments and sale of Dynapen pending publication in *Medical World News* and *Medical Tribune* of "corrective ads." Because Bristol's promotional letter had gone air mail, the FDA required that the "corrective letter" also be sent air mail.

The most contrite "corrective letter" was sent by Abbott Laboratories concerning the antibiotic Erythrocin. "We sincerely regret that the construction of [a promotional mailing piece] may have allowed interpretations extending beyond the limits of the approved package labeling and the full content of the cited references," the firm said. Usually, a company says that the material in question was considered by the FDA to be misleading. In sample "corrective letters," apologies were made by Ayerst, for implying a link between cholesterol-lowering Atromid-S and "a beneficial effect" on heart disease; by Geigy, in a claim "not supported by the data" for Hygroton in lowering blood pressure, and by E. R. Squibb for misinterpreting a medical reference so as to deprecate a rival to its antibiotic Mysteclin-F. FDA's findings that hazards of birth control pills were misleadingly downgraded were reported by Searle (Ovulen-21), Mead Johnson (Oracon) and Syntex (Norquen and Norinyl-1). Several firms told doctors of a conclusion by the FDA that the provision of insufficient information had jeopardized safe, effective use of a drug. This category included Pfizer for Renese and Renese-R, diuretics and Lakeside for Norpramin.

Last year, the FDA invited written comments on proposed new ad regulations embodying prohibitions against specific deceptions brought to light by the "corrective letters" and the criminal and civil cases. The responses came entirely from sources with special interests in drug advertising, and all were opposed to the proposed new rules. Not one physician, physician group or physician publication filed a statement in support of FDA. This suggests a certain apathy in the medical profession. Many physicians have a dependent relation with drug companies which begins in medical school, when they accept week-end trips and other gifts, and continues in later life with research grants and other help. They don't seem to mind too much being deceived. And so deception, remaining profitable, persists. For this, major news media deserve some blame. With few exceptions, they have failed to recognize the news value in "corrective letters" or in criminal prosecutions for deceptive advertising (which carry a tap-on-the-wrist maximum penalty of $1,000 per count). Adequate reporting might have a therapeutic effect not only on drug companies, but also on the medical profession. More physicians might come to identify with patients, the way airline pilots identify with passengers flying in the same airplane.

*View from Japan*

# East Asia After the Vietnam War Is Over

*by Edgar Snow*

The United States did not go to Paris in military defeat but its presence there acknowledged political defeat. Such is the view of some Japanese officials, as well as among candid Americans. Late in 1967 Ambassador Lodge predicted that there would never be any formal peace talks; the war would end simply when the Viet Cong "faded away" before US power. That dream collapsed after the Tet offensive of January 1968. When the US agreed to talk, *within* Hanoi's terms, most of the countryside was back in Viet Cong hands. The Americans agreed to begin their talks as guests of a French president who was, among their allies, the most outspoken critic of their Vietnam policy. An era ended with the proof that American superpower cannot impose its political will on even small nations determined to fight for their independence, and even if their leadership is Marxist. The spell of the unusable nuclear bomb has been broken.

"Paris" has also proved, to those who doubted it, that the leadership of a "liberation war" cannot be exported. A people truly fighting for its independence can and must develop its own sovereign leadership, capable of making its own decisions, even against the will of its close friends and neighbors, and whether they be Marxist or non-Marxist.

Many questions can now be raised, realistically, which were merely academic before March 31, 1968. A negotiated Vietnam settlement will affect the fate of all nations, in varying degrees, but in the East, especially, it must have far-reaching repercussions. For China, Russia, Japan, the United States, and for smaller neighbors and dependencies of those powers, peace in Vietnam could reduce tensions and open up new possibilities, but it could also create new problems.

Consider China. Overtly, the Peking government – the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung – opposed the Paris meeting. It was the Russians who welcomed Xuan Thuy in Paris while the lone Chinese correspondent there returned to Peking. Why is China opposed?

The whole strategy of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has, in its military implications, come to rest upon a series of assumptions: that imperialism will never change; that nonantagonistic coexistence



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is impossible; that a Sino-American war is probably unavoidable; that the Yenan style of preparation for defensive war over a vast area is the only way to meet the attack; that dependence on Russian "revisionist" aid inevitably means subservience for China; that cooperation with Russia is a betrayal of China's revolutionary and national interests – and great loss of prestige for the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.

Now, what if real events prove those assumptions faulty? What if an end to the bombing brings negotiations? What if negotiations bring cease fire? What if a world conference achieves a general settlement? What if a settlement brings international guarantees of security for all Southeast Asia? What if America and Russia reach an Asian *entente* – for competitive but peaceful coexistence, in clear preference to cold or hot war?

Could Peking afford to remain outside such events from beginning to end? What would be the effect on Mao's prestige if the Chinese government felt obliged to accept the new trend? Could Peking send a delegation to a multinational conference on Vietnam, to sit with the Russians and Americans? If they did, and if the Chinese found themselves signing any agreement at such a conference, would that constitute a form of compromise with both imperialism and revisionism?

*Charmed*

Would the Chinese people continue to accept Red Guard dicta over their political and economic life as the unavoidable price of vigilance in the event that a negotiated settlement proved possible in Vietnam? Would the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be able to maintain its fervor and fundamentalist attitudes?

Such questions suggest that the Paris talks might require Peking to reexamine the premises of both its external and internal policies. But any fundamental departure from Mao's strategy, or any modification of Red Guard views toward coexistence, will depend first of all on the continued military strength demonstrated by the Viet Cong during the prolonged "Fight and Talk" phase of struggle. It will also depend upon US strength and intentions, as expressed in Vietnam and in Paris. Can the US concede to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to its allies in the south, the National Liberation Front, the essence of their demands under the five "areas" in which Ambassador Harriman sees "hope to find agreement"? The "areas" he defines are: 1) guarantees of an independent, democratic, and peaceful Vietnam; 2) respect for the Geneva Accords of 1954; 3) self-determination for the people of South Vietnam in the settlement of their own affairs; 4) peaceful reunification of South and North Vietnam; and 5) respect for the Demilitarized Zone as defined in the Geneva Accords.

Both sides aim, of course, to achieve by negotiations what they have failed to achieve by purely military means. For the Hanoi-NLF forces that means: 1) complete cessation of US bombing and of all "war-like acts"; 2) the withdrawal of all foreign forces; 3) the elimination of all foreign military bases in Vietnam; 4) recognition of the NLF as the sole genuine representative government of the South Vietnamese; and 5) reunification of north and south without any outside interference in Vietnam's internal affairs.

For the United States the objectives are: 1) to secure North Vietnam's recognition of the existence of a separate South Vietnam state (never recognized by the Geneva Accords of 1954); 2) to secure the withdrawal of North Vietnam's armed forces from south of the Demilitarized Zone; 3) to convert the Viet Cong armed resistance into a legal political opposition; and 4) to keep South Vietnam open to foreign trade and investment.

Obviously, there are huge gaps between the two sets of aims. It is, however, President Johnson's repeated declarations of a firm American intention to completely withdraw, to relinquish all military bases, to abide by the Geneva Accords, and to accept, also, the ultimate unification of Vietnam – pledges sealed by Johnson's renunciation of his own future political career – which make the Paris talks possible for Hanoi.

A key difference lies in the American insistence on



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a separate South Vietnam, but on this point the "French school" of thought might well prevail. They argue that only by "losing" South Vietnam to an independent "All Vietnam" – even if it falls under Vietnam communist leadership – could an effective barrier be created against the spread of Chinese political dominance in Southeast Asia. The US must rely upon Vietnamese nationalism as the stronger force in the Vietnamese revolution, they contend, to prevail against ideological ties which might subordinate Vietnam to China. That is the view also of U Thant: Vietnam should become the Yugoslavia of Southeast Asia. On that point no doubt Marshal Tito, during his 1968 visit to Japan, must have been a persuasive advocate in his talks with Japanese officials.

That which few observers forecast, even as Mr. Johnson stepped up his intervention in 1964, had by 1968 become obvious. That is, that in the long run the President would have to choose either to gamble on the strength and sovereign integrity of Vietnamese nationalism, as defined above, or accept a protracted war with mainland Asia of uncertain duration and extent.

If, in the foregoing sense, the US were to "lose" Vietnam – by losing direct military control over fragments of South Vietnam – would that mean abandonment of the concept of "containment" of China? Or would withdrawal from the trap only reveal that it was not a dominoes game after all, but a chain in which Vietnam was the weak and expendable link? If the object was to contain China, intervention has had the effect of greatly increasing Vietnam's dependence on China. If the pressures are withdrawn, will that dependence diminish? If the United States draws back a long step in its "containment" strategy vis-à-vis China, excluding Vietnam from the encirclement, is a drawback from Taiwan then possible? Could "containment" be made to work if based solely on positions which excluded US armed intervention on the territory of other nations? If Washington eventually adopted such a modified version of "containment" would a settlement between the US and China become negotiable and would that pave the way for China's entrance into the United Nations? Once China becomes a UN member, would it then become realistic, on the principle of peaceful coexistence, to consider the liquidation of all military bases held by one power on the territory of another power, in exchange for collective security guaranteed by UN forces? (Long dreams, indeed!)

And what of Japan? Even without withdrawal of American arms from Vietnam, the viability of the Japanese-American alliance will be ever more severely tested between now and 1970. One may doubt whether a Japan no longer tied to that alliance will in practice radically alter its policy toward Taiwan and China in the near future. Japan seems destined to remain heavily dependent on the US in trade and fiscal matters for an indefinite period, her trade and capital investment in Taiwan exceed any visible prospects of material reward in China, and the "two Chinas" arrangement offers rather obvious attractions to Japan's present rulers. Beyond Taiwan, Japan has growing interests in southern Asia with areas containing 15 to 20 million overseas Chinese, important in foreign trade. They too, along with Taiwan's 14 million, would become dependents of Peking if the island's sovereignty were transferred to the mainland.

Yet all thoughtful Japanese – and especially out-of-office Japanese – tell me that Japan's long-term living relationships with a single China (as well as with a single Vietnam and a single Korea) are more important than temporary or local interests in Taiwan. Japan's role in East Asia as a whole requires that effective regional economic, political and, eventually, security collaboration, must include mainland China. In any case, it cannot succeed against a hostile China.

Probably only an overthrow of the Liberal-Democratic regime could result in an early radical change of Japan's foreign policy postures on the above questions. But an extension of liberal trading credits to China, direct diplomatic contacts, wider cultural and economic exchanges, may be expected even from the present regime, *if* the logical consequences of the Vietnam settlement follow along lines already suggested here.

What might greatly *accelerate* policy changes by Japan, however, would be the effect of a sudden surprise ending to the war in South Vietnam, such as seems confidently expected in Hanoi. It is well known that President Ho, General Giap, and others have told their people and their warriors that 1968 is not only the "year of decision" but the year of victory. In Hanoi the Paris talks are seen as a continuation of war by other means – of gaining time while preparing a decision in Vietnam by combined military and political offensives. The chessboard begins more and more to resemble the 1947-49 period in China, when US "mediation teams" sought to bring about a cessation of civil war and the formation of a compromise, coalition regime. Both sides fought it out until US efforts were deflated to empty talk in the face of realities of communist victory. The main difference, of course, is that in Vietnam today there are large American combat forces in control of backbone defense positions.

The nominally 700,000-strong army of South Vietnam must inevitably begin to feel the decay of confidence in the leadership structure above them. Saigon's puppets cannot but feel the main blow of the American political defeat. The NLF will make good use



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of the time, borrowed in Paris, to erode what remains of loyalty to such American-made *opéra bouffe* figures as Marshal Ky. As corruption increases apace, officer defections may include whole detachments, and rank and file desertions may reach large proportions. Who wishes to die in a cause already lost?

If one compares the present American situation to that in China in 1949, one can see the logic of expectations in Hanoi and Peking that the US may soon be obliged to leave Vietnam unconditionally. In 1949, the total defeat of the Nationalists deprived US air, land and naval forces there of any further sanctuary and left no basis for a negotiated withdrawal. A similar conclusion to the Vietnam war is one possibility foreseen by Mao Tse-tung in his interview with me in 1965. The main objective of the Tet offensive probably was to clear the Saigon police forces from the rural areas of South Vietnam, with such success as it attained in urban attacks as an added bonus. Since that period, US forces and their native allies have been on the defensive, and continued Viet Cong attacks will seek to maintain the initiative throughout the Paris talks. Meanwhile the NLF will everywhere extend its political and military consolidation over the recovered areas, building up ever greater pressure on the cities. Within coming months, urban insurrections could appeal to greater and greater numbers of ordinary citizens as the quickest way to end the prolonged chaos – and the wisest way to prepare to meet the future. In effect, the US cause could be lost because Vietnamese would simply refuse to fight Vietnamese any longer. The political isolation of the US forces would thus become absolute.

If the NLF and Hanoi could bring about that denouement before next November, would it offer American presidential candidates a means to rationalize a demand for US withdrawal? In China it was the Nationalists' lack of will to fight – and corruption – which American state papers blamed for the communist victory. Could it be that in Vietnam, also, betrayal by the Nationalists, rather than American miscalculations, compounded through three presidential Administrations, would be held responsible?

None of those possibilities could be called certainties at the moment. But if events should unfold in such a catastrophe for the US in the coming months then the American command would find itself in a position fundamentally worse even than that of the French at Dienbienphu. Militarily, the American position might be salvageable, for a withdrawal, but politically the US would have even less bargaining capital left than did the French at Geneva in 1954.

## "WHO RULES?" IS THE STUDENTS' QUESTION

# France's Cultural Revolution

*Paris*

Whatever the final outcome of the French elections (and the first Sunday's balloting foretold a significant Gaullist victory), the Sorbonne's finest hour is past. The reign of "Imagination in Power" was met by a governmental White Terror. Police invaded the Sorbonne, ripped down the posters of Mao, Trotsky, Che Guevara, and the flamboyant hand-lettered posters of the Cultural Revolution. Eleven revolutionary "groupuscules" have been outlawed, their leaders put under surveillance, while the sinister right-wing Occident Movement continues to enjoy immunity. Over a hundred foreign students suspected of participation in the May demonstrations have been summarily expelled from France. The government has amnestied former OAS conspirators to foster an electoral alliance based on the principle of "no enemies to the right." The professors who "emigrated" during the crisis are returning and speaking out again to denounce the "terrorist" tactics of the students.

The student revolt has from the start been caught between revolution and reformism. There is on the one hand a mass of students who demand a rational reform of an archaic university system out of phase with modern technocratic society, incapable of forming the elites needed by modern management, unable to orient its students toward productive careers; on the other hand are those, numerically less important but more aware, more determined and more articulate, who refuse the idea of a university better adapted to a society they consider incurably sick and condemned to disappear, who want the new university to be the scene of a permanent cultural revolution, a perpetual calling into question of society: a university containing within itself an anti-university or counter-university –



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what is now being called the Critical University.

The student solution to this contradiction has been inspired. After their occupation of the Sorbonne on May 13, rapidly followed by occupation of all the faculties of France, the students' first move was to declare the autonomy of the "free universities," their second to make this autonomy real by putting in place a new power structure: committees of occupation and, more important, working committees in each discipline. These committees, in composition either "paritary" – grouping an equal number of students and teachers (mostly the younger teachers, *Assistants* or *Maître-Assistants*, who put themselves in the service of the revolution) – or "mixed," elected from a common slate of students and teachers, have been charged with creating the new university: with elaborating, not proposals for a future discussion or negotiation, but new constitutions for every university domain. The cry has been, virtually, "All power to the soviets," and the soviet structure, better than any other form of organization, preserves both the revolutionary demand for a seizure of power and the reformist demand for immediate practical results.

*Tout commence en mystique, tout finit en politique*, said Péguy. The students have been subject to the demands of both *mystique* and *politique*, and the soviets, calling on the direct participation of everyone concerned by a problem, maintaining revolutionary solidarity and spirit while working toward concrete results, reconcile the two exigencies. A soviet is, as linguists say of certain statements, "sui-performative," in that it directly, without mediation, takes power into its own hands, and because its decisions have immediate value as action. In the new university structures as they are conceived by the student committees – insofar as these committees have formulated the results of their deliberations – the soviet principle seems to be guaranteed a permanent future in the form of the department. The Critical University is to be constructed around this basic cell, a continuing soviet where students and teachers engage in a constant dialogue on a footing of equality and together manage their affairs, plan their programs, distribute their budget, elect their chairman, hire their personnel. Like the teachers, the students will have the right to organize courses, "counter-courses" presenting a different interpretation; and examinations will not only judge students, but also be judged by them.

The soviet structure may have some limitations. It may mean, first of all, a perpetuation of the old "balkanization" of the university. Since each committee is working within a specific area, the orderly and progressive cooperation of disciplines which was so lacking in the pre-existing system, cannot be assured – but it could probably be handled by some future "super soviet." Then, it is evident that if the soviets have at present taken real power into their hands and given the university the reform which people have talked about for years but never attempted to institute, the government still represents technical legality, and controls the budget, which means that it may eventually be able to reassert its authority as the only legitimate reformer of the university and promulgate a new order which might, if intelligently conceived, satisfy a majority of the professors and the reformist students. Yet it is precisely the form of such a procedure that would constitute a major psychological error – and undoubtedly provoke another crisis in the fall. Because the crisis in France is to a large extent a crisis of representivity, of responsibility, a question of "who rules" posed on the most basic and important plane. And if the soviets have no technical legality, they do represent something real: not only the idealism and effort of the most concerned and committed students and teachers, but a profound aspiration to the governance of one's own affairs.

This aspiration seems to be central and may have real revolutionary strength for the future. It showed itself capable of rapid spread during the workers' strikes, and it responds to a deep-rooted French tradition going back to Rousseau and most fully voiced by Proudhon, the tradition of "creative anarchy," which sees the power of the people expressed, not, as in Marxism, through state ownership of the means of production, but rather through direct ownership and management of the tools of their profession by workers of all categories. It is a tradition based on a historical mistrust of the state as the inevitable betrayer of the social contract, a desire to reorganize the economy and society in such a way that power is never alienated from those directly concerned by its exercise. And it could be argued that the Napoleonic centralization and bureaucratization of the French state – of which the French university structure is a faithful reflection – make conditions in France objectively more "ripe" for an anarchist revolution than a classic Marxist revolution. The slogan, "Nationalize the factories," taken up at various points during the crisis by the communist trade union, the CGT, does not mean much to the workers, since so many of them already work for nationalized sectors – the railroads, the coal mines, Renault, Sud-Aviation – that do not create an appreciably different condition for the worker. The revolutionary workers' cry, heard in the streets more and more as the crisis reached paroxysm, is "The factories to the workers," which is the true echo of 1848 or 1870. And this is what, after the students had given the example with the occupation of the Sorbonne, the workers attempted to effect. The first strikes and oc-



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cupations of factories had nothing to do with union directives, they were the result of spontaneous groupings of workers, particularly young workers, into "action committees," and their platforms were as much concerned with "worker power" in the factories as with increased wages and reduced hours. It was only after these initial moves from the "base" that the strike movement was taken in hand by the CGT and the other national unions and channeled into classic wage and hour demands.

Sociologist Edgar Morin claims that the students set up the first real working communism in a western democracy: they expropriated the means of production, and established communal control of them. I think not only of the universities, but also of the ORTF, the state radio and television services, where the strike committee has elaborated a new statute to give the organism freedom from government control – the status of an independent public corporation like the BBC – and virtually all the reporters and technicians refuse to return to work until the government solemnly promises to submit the draft statute to the Assembly when it reconvenes. The government's hesitations have been revealing: it has made pendulum swings from conciliation to repression and back again; it has been unable to accept the reality of the essential issue, the unilateral declaration of independence by what was perhaps its most effective instrument of rule. In this key sector of modern society – this powerful and symbolic institution, at least as important to the government as the army – de Gaulle seems incapable of restoring the old order, and this indicates the extent to which, while political revolution failed and the Sorbonne fell to the police, a real revolution has taken place, is taking place, and doubtless will continue, below or beyond the political level.

Political revolution did not take place because there was never any real political solution in sight; a political revolution needs a revolutionary political party with a program, and the French Communist Party is anything but. A government of the Left – that is, of the alliance of the Communists and the Socialists and Radicals of the Fédération de la Gauche – would probably bring merely an adjustment of the old machinery, not the profound redefinition of social structures which the protestors desire. That is why the present parliamentary elections mask the true problems.

In a modern industrial society, "who rules" is less a question of the party in power or even the form of the regime than of the organization of labor, the distribution of technological authority, the control of information and publicity. The students, at least in their most lucid moments, have understood this, and that is why they have turned their attention to the cultural revolution. A real cultural revolution working through a new dynamic educational system led by "critical universities" in ferment, a freed television, new experiments in other communications media, including literature and the theater, could lead to a rapid evolution in mass consciousness of the social situation, to the point where the gap between the "real" country and the "governmental" country became too wide, the lack of representivity of present structures and leaders too patent, new solutions and new leaders appeared on the left, and the explosion, either peaceful or violent, followed.

The revolutionary movement will certainly not be satisfied and disarmed by the implementation of de Gaulle's panacea of "participation," for this is bound to mean a sort of medieval corporatism and paternalism grafted onto modern capitalism, a system of binding workers to their factories through stock distributions, the institution of representative workers' committees with limited responsibilities, a form of social democracy decreed from on high and protecting, rather than calling into question, the status quo. ("Participation" in this sense is also an official doctrine of the Falange in Spain.) The students and many young workers now have a vision of a society where the "paritary committee," the soviet grouping all elements of labor and management in one autonomous and all-powerful organism, would be the irreducible unit of the economy and of society; the state would be an administration of enterprises all controlled by the "base."

Power in France has long been a monologue; the monologue has been thrown into question by the action and talk of the student soviets, by a new, resurrected dialogue which may not be recognized by the government, but which now undeniably exists. During the "May Revolution," one felt a reconquest of the city by the citizens. Every morning after the nights of protest and violence, groups of people would gather on the sidewalks or in the devastated streets to discuss the night's events, the future of the crisis, new solutions. The Latin Quarter became a vast forum. That, basically, is what the Cultural Revolution is all about.

PETER BROOKS

COMING: *John Osborne on Humphrey's strategy for winning wider acceptance*



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# The Unbondables

*by Gilbert B. Friedman*

In 1966, the University of Southern California proposed building a multipurpose health center in Watts. A group of Negro civic leaders and businessmen had the vision of using local Negro labor for the construction work, and with this in mind the BBWC Construction Company was born. This company was accepted as the lowest bidder. The lowest subcontractor to BBWC for the plumbing work was Cecil Hamilton, a Negro plumber with 20 years' experience. The lowest bid on the electrical work was submitted by Cliff Allen, who had an integrated electrical contracting firm. The first firm accepted to work on the job was Bailey's Construction Company. Lloyd Bailey, who heads this firm, was born in Watts and has lived there 50 years. He employs local men, as does every other subcontractor working on his team. Fifty Watts men were hired by agreement with the local union.

The university's contract with BBWC was negotiated, however, on the understanding that the company would be able to secure the necessary surety bonds. It wasn't. And it did not merely try one or two companies; it tried a dozen. No insurance company would furnish them with the necessary bonds for this $500,000 job.

Every time government money is used, as it would be in this instance, contractors must submit surety bonds guaranteeing reimbursement in case the contractor does not perform as required. This rule applies in various guises whether the financing is local, state or federal. For example, the Miller Act requires surety bonds in the construction of all federal buildings. Under other departments, such as the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), surety bonds are required under a policy decision. Many private developers also require surety bonds of contractors and subcontractors. The practical effect is that small minority contractors are denied work.

The present system of surety bonds even controls who can bid on a government financed job. In order to submit a bid, the contractor must also submit a "bid bond." This bond insures the developer that the lowest bidder will be able to get the *other* bonds for the job. If he does not get these bonds, then the bid bond, usually 10 percent of the bid, is forfeited. Assuming the contractor does get the job, he must then post two bonds. One is a performance bond as security for the faithful performance of his contract. The other is a labor and material bond of not less than 50 percent of his contract price as security for the payment of all persons performing labor and furnishing materials. The total coverage of both bonds equals 100 percent of the cost of the project. It is next to impossible for a small contractor to "lick the system." Even if he could raise the required 10 percent of the contract price, he could hardly be expected to raise 100 percent "cash on the line" of the total contract price in place of the unobtainable bonds.

It would be nice to report that in the case of BBWC the various community groups sat around conference tables with the insurance companies, "reasoned together," and got around the obstacle of surety bonds. But it didn't happen that way. Instead, the "Tony Jacquett Compliance Plan" went into effect. Tony Jacquett was a young black man in Watts who told the various authorities that unless black men were allowed to build this health center in Watts, he was going to burn it down after the white men built it. This was how the BBWC Construction Company overcame the seemingly insurmountable obstacle of the surety bond. Not very businesslike, but effective.

Other small contractors have not been so fortunate as BBWC. Alladin Electric Inc., for example, is an electrical contractor in Berkeley, California. Ray Dones, its founder, has been in business since 1953. Alladin employed six full-time electricians, all of them Negroes, and an Oriental office manager. Alladin used to do most of its work on single-family, small duplex buildings. But with the recent slump in construction, this kind of job has come to a near standstill. There is, however, a great deal of building going on, most of it government financed. But Alladin can't get the surety bonds. As a result, Alladin Electric has had to lay off two of its six electricians.

In 1967, the Oakland Council of Churches sponsored the construction of a housing development for the elderly, called Satellite Homes. The project was 100 percent federally financed. Officials of the council called Mr. Dones and others from the community and specifically asked how they could make sure that there would be adequate minority representation in the work force. Mr. Dones suggested that the four separate

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apartment houses to be built be let out as four separate jobs. Six minority contractors of the San Francisco Bay area had pooled their resources and formed the Trans-Bay Construction Company so they could bid as general contractors on one job as joint venturers. They suggested four separate bids, because they knew that they would never be able to get a bid bond for the total project – $2.3 million. The council architect and others refused to accept this or any of the other suggestions of the minority contractors. The Trans-Bay Construction Company was unable to obtain the bid bond. Satellite Homes today is being built with only a token force of blacks on the job and no black contractors. There is not one black contractor in the San Francisco Bay area on any sizable federally financed construction, although there are about 125 black contractors and subcontractors in the area.

In April, 1967, Alladin Electric submitted a low bid for $130,000 electrical subcontract to the general contractor on a Navy job at Hunters Point in one of San Francisco's ghetto districts. Alladin was required by the general contractor to get a surety bond. Mr. Dones knew that he could not get one for the whole job, so he subcontracted $50,000 worth of the contract. Continental Insurance Company then stated they might issue the surety bonds if Alladin got $10,000 more in cash in its business. Alladin did. Next Continental Insurance Company suggested that if Alladin got a $25,000 bank letter of credit, a loan the bank agrees to give you if you need it in the future, they might issue it. Alladin got that. Continental continued to delay. They never said no; they just wouldn't say yes. Finally the general contractor gave the job to the next lowest bidder because Alladin could not get the surety bonds. This is what minority contractors face.

Some contend that the main reason black contractors have not been able to get surety bonds is that they do not furnish the necessary information to the insurance company in sufficient time before the deadline for the company to do the necessary underwriting investigation. This is partially true. But the reason is that most general contractors who get the job do not usually require their subcontractors to furnish surety bonds. When, however, a general contractor wants to throw a stumbling block in the path of the lowest subcontractor, one thing he can do is require him to get a surety bond. The subcontractor is left with only a limited time in which to apply for the bond. (This argument does not apply when the black contractor is bidding as a *general* contractor and cannot get the surety bond, as in the Watts Health Center or the Satellite Homes project.)

On June 9, 1968, the Ford Foundation announced a $300,000 grant to the General and Specialty Contractors Association of Oakland for a model community action program aimed at providing a system through which target area contractors and subcontractors can become employers of the disadvantaged construction worker. One of the chief aims of the program is to increase the bonding capacity of the small general and subcontractors. If successful, this plan could be a model for similar programs throughout the country.

With the Ford grant, a Credit Bank will be created which will provide a portion of the training costs for the upgrading of minority construction contractors and, simultaneously, assist the small contractors willing to share in training workers. At present minority contractors' profit is too low to allow them to undertake a training program in any but the most limited scope. Under the Ford program, approximately 100 currently unemployed men will be trained and will have steady work over a three-year period.

The bonding companies require, among other things, that the contractor have an adequate amount of unencumbered working capital to ensure that he will be able to complete the job. As it is customary for the developer to hold back 10 percent of the contract price until the job has been completed, the bonding companies use this figure as the basis for their liquidity requirement. Therefore, in order for a contractor to obtain bonding for a $200,000 job, the contractor must have a minimum of $20,000 in cash which is not offset by a liability of any kind. Since even some big contractors cannot meet this stiff requirement, one contractor will often lend part of his bonding capacity to another for a percentage of the profits. But small contractors neither have nor can borrow any bonding capacity; their liquid cash position must be increased in order to make it possible, under the present system of bonding, to employ the men they want to train. The Ford grant will do this on the basis of a work plan submitted by the contractor in which he outlines the number of men that he would train. If a cooperating contractor submits a job he plans to bid on to the Credit Bank's board, and if the board decides the contractor's proposal is reasonable, they will advance him the necessary money, for example, $20,000 to meet the requirements of the insurance company. This advance is paid back by the contractor to the Credit Bank before his profit is taken out of the completed job. As this payment does not involve a financial obligation, either implicit or explicit, the funds could be used to meet the liquidity requirements, and thereby increase the bonding capacity by $200,000. However, if insurance companies continue to treat black contractors as they do today, this program will be merely a gesture. Relief on a nationwide scale is badly needed.

Ultimately, the question is whether surety bonds on government projects are necessary. Supposedly, they



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serve as assurance that the taxpayer's money made available will be adequately protected, will not be dissipated, and will be effectively used for the purposes intended. But this isn't at stake when there is a federally-financed project. The government maintains very careful control. All buildings, public or private, are inspected during construction, but none so thoroughly as government buildings. At every step of the construction federal inspectors check to see that the work is properly completed. No one is paid until the work has met specifications.

Despite these precautions, surety bonds are always required. When one considers the fact that the government pays all the premiums for these bonds, the situation becomes absurd. The cost of the bonds is added into the price of the bid as a direct cost by the contractor, and the government ends up paying more. Would it not be more economical for the federal government to be a self-insurer, rather than indirectly pay the insurance companies huge sums in the form of premiums? Where there are federally controlled inspections and other safeguards, failures by contractors could be held to a minimum.

Even if surety bonds are essential, the present method of securing them is questionable. There are case decisions by both the federal and state courts which have held that similar delegations of authority to private organizations without standards or procedural safeguards were unconstitutional as violations of the aggrieved's rights to due process of law.

For example, a New York statute delegating to a private "Jockey Club" the power to license horse owners, trainees, and jockeys was challenged in the court by Mr. Jule Fink who had applied for a license to race his horses in New York state during 1949 and was turned down by the Jockey Club. The New York Supreme Court in upholding Mr. Fink's position said that the powers given to this private association were "such an abdication as to be patently an unconstitutional relinquishment of legislative powers." The case with the insurance company issuing surety bonds is a step further removed, because Congress has not delegated this function of who can qualify for surety bonds. The administrator has delegated it to the private party with no procedural safeguards against any arbitrariness, or unfairness on the part of the insurance companies. The insurance company is left to be the judge whether someone is "sound" enough to undertake a project. The federal government takes great pains and sets criteria for which insurance companies can sell surety bonds on federal building contracts. The limit of the amount they can sell is published in an annual list by the Treasury Department (Treasury Department Circular 570, 1967 Revision). An insurance company may request a hearing with the Treasury Department for a review of the decision. Yet once an insurance company falls within the criteria it is free in its own absolute discretion to say whether it will allow a contractor to place his bid. The contractor, however, has no right to request a hearing for review of the insurance company's decision.

New programs to create jobs for minority workers are needed, but it should be made clear that there are in America today skilled minority craftsmen in the construction industry, many of whom own their own business and employ minority persons, who have been frozen out by the present system of issuing surety bonds.

Perhaps the President, Congress, or the various government agencies could set up standards. The Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, for example, might establish new regulations by which a contractor who is turned down by several insurance companies could apply to the Secretary for a waiver of the bond requirements. After an investigation by HUD, the bonds could be waived in certain situations and additional requirements set up in lieu of the bond if they were thought necessary to protect the government's interest. For example, smaller companies which do not have the large staff of business experts could be required to use companies such as Builders Control of Northern California, a company which oversees the financial aspects of construction work and makes inspections, etc. to see that the job is going properly and is often used in lieu of a surety bond on private jobs. The fee they charge is almost identical to that of the premium for a surety bond.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders' insurance report, entitled, "Meeting the Insurance Crisis of Our Cities," touched on this problem. Its authors stated, "... Obtaining these necessary bonds is often difficult, if not impossible, for the small contractor who seeks to perform construction work in urban areas. This restricts the ability of these contractors to expand their business and reduces competition for construction work in the urban area." The commission proposed that a federal corporation reinsure these insurance companies that sell bid and performance bonds to small contractors in ghetto areas. This would mean the government's taking over all or some of the risk of the insurance companies. This suggestion becomes somewhat ludicrous, however, when one considers the fact that the federal government pays all the premiums to begin with, since the contractors just add the premiums into their bid. Under this approach all the insurance company would do is collect the premiums while the federal government would pay and then take the risk. It looks pretty – if you happen to be an insurance executive.



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# On The Edge

Peter Weiss, the author of *Marat/Sade* and other plays, is a painter and designer as well as a writer. He has made a collage for the jacket of his book, *Exile* *, which is also reproduced, attractively, on the binding. The collage is a sedate *fin de siècle* nightmare of steel-engraved bearded burghers surrounding a reclining half-nude youth, a chained rock, a huge winged insect, and (apparently) a toilet bowl. It is an apt overture to this introspective, shadowy, and very moving book.

Even if one admires *Marat/Sade*, as I do within limits, its rather steely use of mental involution does not prepare one for this book (which, in fact, was written earlier). *Exile* is called a novel, but the term seems just a talisman that Weiss hung over his desk to give himself associative freedom in writing an autobiography. His book is an exploration of self – emotional, moral, social self – from the beginnings of consciousness to the age of thirty. "Quest for identity" is now such Sunday-interview cant in newspapers that the words have been greased over by everyone with an electric guitar. But identity *is* a crisis matter in this century, and for Weiss, all the more troubled because his formative years were tumbled on the edge of the century's greatest holocaust.

He was born near Berlin in 1916 and, since 1939, has lived in Sweden. He crossed the fringe of the terror (and, what has proved morally crucial to him, he had friends who did not cross it); and he spent the war years just out of range, figuratively, of the guns. The shock waves caused concussion he was not then aware of. After the war, he faced – and realized the extent to which he could not face – everything that had made him what he was.

The book is in two sections. "Leavetaking," which was published separately in 1962 in a different translation, deals, completely subjectively, with Weiss' life until he arrived in Sweden. "Vanishing Point," the second and longer part (1939 to 1947), has many impressionistic sections and little that is baldly factual; but much of it is pure narrative. It also supplies some background details for the first part. "Leavetaking" is a continuous, time-flickering, dreamed remembrance. "Vanishing Point" is somewhat closer to formal autobiography. Most of the book's few faults are in that second part; the accounts of friends' adventures sometimes seem overextended, and some of the transitions are a bit misty.

In the beginning Weiss says:

> "When my mother once told me the first words I ever said were, what a nice life I have, what a nice life, in it I heard the ring of something that had been drummed into my head, parrot-taught, something with which I had wanted to amuse or mock those around me."

It *was* a nice life (as they doubtless *had* taught him) by the heavy-curtained, *Kartoffel-Klösse* standards of the society in which he had been born. His father, a Hungarian Jew converted to Christianity, adored his mother, a former Reinhardt actress, and prospered at his textile business, first in Germany, then Czechoslovakia, then Sweden. The boy Peter, in an upholstered fortress, went through the usual discoveries of stairways and trees, his soul and his penis (and the fact that the maid was different), went through his first shock of loss when one of his sisters was killed in an accident, and struggled to his first awareness that, in the smoothness of his home, there was suffocation.

He became increasingly interested in painting and writing, decreasingly interested in what would have been comforting to his parents. Eventually there was the inevitable scared disappointment of parents who have done everything they thought right for their son, only to find him absorbed in pictures and poems. The bourgeois-bohemian schism may be fading nowadays as parents strive more and more to be hip, but for several centuries it was the classic generation gap.

The materials in "Leavetaking," except for the Nazi speeches heard faintly in the background, are all classic *Entwicklungsroman* subjects: the youth's first sex and art fumblings and his first awareness that compassion is possible for one's parents, those beings who had been gods. But the usual materials are not commonplace here because Weiss never settles for conventional rhetorical gestures. No, that is inadequate: one is rarely conscious of his choosing any rhetoric at all, of "writing." He is simply telling – in seemingly the only way possible for him – his personal truth about universals, thus making them unique. He is not, in obedience to that dull dictum, merely writing about what he knows; he "knows" it in a way that freshens it yet again.

In "Vanishing Point" he arrives in Sweden, works as a textile designer, paints and writes, and mingles his lives with those of other young men and women in chemical interchanges. His eye here turns more to observation and description, to analysis. He works as a farmhand and a logger, and although this is not a political book – not the work of the man who wrote his later plays – he reveals incipient political discomfort. He describes the medieval conditions on the farm, then says:

> "And yet the farmyard was not far from the capital and the Labor Party was running the country. It was as if, after all the upheavals and renovations in society, the country had again become dormant. A revolution had never taken place, the workers had once been granted all their rights and that was that."

Weiss' attempts to show that the "rights" were purely theoretical astonished both the farmer *and* the other laborers.

There were experiences with women,

*(Continued on page 41)*

* *Exile*, by Peter Weiss. Translated by E. B. Garside, Alastair Hamilton, Christopher Levenson. (Seymour Lawrence-Delacorte; $5.95)



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# Books and the Arts

## What Disney Teaches

*by Peter Michelson*

Richard Schickel's study of Walt Disney is so intelligent and even-tempered that it removes the shrillness from one's fear of the international happiness conspiracy so neatly formulated and broadcast by Disney and his enterprises. But shrill or not, one gets "the fear." For seeing Disney's career, we are reminded how fundamentally American it is, how close to the demo-

*The Disney Version*
*The Life, Times, Art and Commerce of Walt Disney*
by Richard Schickel
(Simon & Schuster; $6.50)

cratic success mythology, how attuned to the heartbeat of our history. And when California's Superintendent of Public Instruction (Max Rafferty) calls Disney "the greatest educator of this century" we need not quibble about Disney as a serious cultural phenomenon. We are obliged, willy-nilly, to find out what he teaches. For Disney lives. He is timeless, everywhere – the artistic extension of the McGuffey Reader, and there is no keeping our children from his school.

The massiveness of Disney's success tells us how much he traded in – with our enthusiastic encouragement – our cultural sentiments, fantasies, and ideals. His idealism is the home grown variety filled with nostalgia for that mythical time when men and nature were in harmony. But he did not intend philosophy; his business was imagery and entertainment. Not complicated stuff from the id and such scary places, but daydreams, aspirations, wish fulfillments to ease the ambiguities. So he made images for the mind on vacation, but a human mind for all that. It is, if anything, archetypally human. That's the danger.

The mind, as we have always known, *is* its own place and can make a heaven of hell or a hell of heaven. There is something deep down satanic in Disney's bringing his version of heaven to earth. As early as *Bambi* (1942), Schickel points out, reviewers were disturbed by Disney's tendency to make cartoons as lifelike as possible. Why then, one asked, have cartoons at all? And the fact that Disney turned his interest from them to live image features, suggests that his imagination had more fish to fry than cartoons could accommodate. The mainstream of his career goes from the comic animal cartoons through the folk tale ones, the nature films, situation and musical comedies, and culminates in Disneyland. One dimension of this evolution is the progress from a juvenile world, where one can merely amuse the elders, to the adult fantasy world where Disney made himself emperor of what he referred to as his "Magic Kingdom":

> "Disneyland, to him, was a living monument to himself and his ideas of what constituted the good, true and beautiful in this world. It was a projection, on a gigantic scale, of his personality. . . . It was, and is, a statement containing, in general and in particular, conscious expressions of everything that was important to Disney, unconscious expressions of everything that had shaped his personality and of a good many things that had, for good and ill, shaped all of us who are Americans born of this century."

Disneyland may be a low comic utopia, but it is rooted in the high American ideal of what the world aspires to be – a clean well-lighted place. So much so that it seems to have inspired Ray Bradbury to suggest that Disney run for mayor, on the ground that his technological genius could give order to the Los Angeles megalopolis. Disney replied, "Why should I run for mayor when I'm already king?" He knew what he was after.

More importantly, he knew what we are all after – the power to make life be what we want it to be. Disney's progress from cartoon illusions and animal allegories to situation comedies corresponds with his desertion of fantasy for imagination. When he gave up fantasy he left being a good artist and became instead a bad poet. We prefer bad poets, either that or we pretend good ones are bad – as with Kipling or Frost. Disney was a good artist because he had a genius for exploring and solving technical problems. And questions of art, as Henry James says, are largely questions of execution. But poetry demands imagination. Disney's was derived from the worst of our cultural vision – the impulse to easy moral feedback. We want the beautiful nature he delivered because "beautiful" things are complete in themselves. A nature defined by its beauty need never trouble us because we have only to see it to be put in tune with the spheres.

With Dr. Johnson, we all rightly fear the tyranny of reflection. And Walt Disney liberated us from that. His comic vision is instinctive and pure, unalloyed with satire or criticism or even parody – except perhaps of itself. His universe is amoral; it contains only good. He has one aim, to sentimentalize and beautify. Little wonder then that what is Gothic in the brothers Grimm is splendid and opulent in Disney. Nor is it surprising that his vision of nature is grand and harmonious rather than operational. Disney's art defines a world without the rigors of cause and effect, where we all live on that big rock-candy mountain, and time stands still.

Consider his replica of Abraham Lincoln in Disneyland. It is life-size and it walks and talks in something very like Lincoln's actual voice. All cultures embody ideals in statuary. But here is an awesome spectacle: Abe Lin-



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coln in the flesh, talking, looking and gesturing at you. And if a thing looks like, acts like, and talks like Lincoln, isn't it really Lincoln? This is no mere preservation of heritage, but a more desperate venture, an attempt to make a hero live – not his ideas or his example, but he himself as a talisman. We don't then have to translate him from history – where men really die and problems proliferate – into contemporary experience. Who, after all, would wittingly make himself a Sisyphus? There is here somehow the sense that without the animated body we can't deal with Lincoln, the sense that values and ideas are so much rhetoric, but a machine that looks like a man and lives by the prosaic magic of Grand Coulee's electricity is something we can understand. Thus we are urged to transcend experience, transcend death, transcend failure. And we are urged, therefore, to disregard human history as a value, and turn it into a melodrama, i.e., a parody of life. Schickel comments, for example, on "Lincoln's" plastic skin:

". . . after a while it excretes oils just as the human skin does and so 'takes makeup wonderfully,' as the press agent eagerly informs you . . . [also] of the interesting protection afforded Mr. Lincoln's electronic guts down in the basement. Should a fire break out, huge metal doors clang irrevocably shut in thirty seconds and the temperature drops instantly to thirty degrees below zero. A man tending the machinery could get killed, but the dummy would live – or exist, or whatever it does.

". . . Here is the dehumanization of art in its final extremity, paradoxically achieved by an ignorant man who was actually, and in good conscience, seeking its humanization and who had, indeed, arrived at this dreadful solution, after a lifetime search for a perfect means of reproducing the reality of human life. At this point the Magic Kingdom becomes a dark land, the innocent dream becomes a nightmare, and the amusement park itself becomes a demonstration not of the wondrous possibilities of technological progress, as its founder hoped, but of its possibilities for horror."

The effect of this grotesque impulse is to give everything the same non-meaning. All events are discrete, and they have therefore no connection to the present. Thus everything may be given the same somatic glow, whether it be the pratfalls of Donald Duck or natural selection in the living forest. In the unrelated world of non-meaning the beautiful image says all that need be said, or indeed all that it's possible to say. And Disney developed with unparalleled perfection the art of presenting the beautiful image.

It may be precarious to argue that hope for the beautiful threatens our well-being, but it does have a propensity to narcissism, wherein the potentialities of life are mistaken for the facts. Hope springs so eternal that it can obscure our sight of the thing we hope for. Disney's comic impulse imparts an abstracted hope, hope without an experimental object, and it induces us therefore to abstract our own experience to match those marshmallow models he projects for me. Bambi's is a cartoon world, but for Disney the cartoon and the real worlds are the same. The only difference between Bambi and a real fawn photographed rubbing noses with a fox is the difference of spectacle. They are, excepting the accident of the drawing board, the same animal. God didn't create either of them, Disney did. And he created them in the image of hope. In the image of a self-serving image created he them.

The desire to repress doubt, simplify complexities, and surrender moral responsibility to some monistic good is a human staple. Disney's archetypal rather than personal legacy to this impulse is a perversion of the highest goals of philosophy and religion – their search for the realities of felicity and harmony. When Disney stepped (or was thrust) into the adult world he failed to assume the responsibilities of an adult. One of these is to lie as little as possible. Disney lied a great deal – about ducks that rhumba, about man's irrepressible benevolence, and about the wonderful world of color. His prismatic vision is a distortion so attractive and profound that it threatens to destroy our sight with the myopia of its wonderful kaleidoscope.

But Walt Disney, after all, is not the bad actor. It is rather the Max Rafferty in us, the absurdity of that in us which ought to know better transforming a show business tycoon into "the greatest educator of this century." What might otherwise be more or less innocuous amusement becomes an ethic – stay as sweet as you are. Meanwhile the stench of death is daily cultivated, and with it the decay of our humanity. The lists from Vietnam cease to mean anything; we require new blood dramas, and we get them – Martin Luther King, Andy Warhol, Robert Kennedy. Stay as sweet as you are.

Schickel's book, however, is not an indictment. It is simply a tough-minded study of the personality and public image that was Disney. The personality is only important insofar as it helped create the image, and the image is only important insofar as we have made it a social virtue. Schickel shows how personality, image, and society have had communion. He serves, therefore, to remind us that our arts – including the popular arts – can and do tell us something about ourselves,

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something that we perhaps cannot know any other way. For Walt Disney was largely what his culture made him; he did what it wanted him to do. And it paid top dollar, so there was a fair bargain. But he was diminished by such trafficking, and so, I fear, was the culture that bade him do it.

# *Thinking About Poverty*

*by Paul Marx*

Four years ago, when the Economic Opportunity Act was being written, we all had high hopes that its goal could be attained in the not-too-distant future; millions of dollars would be placed at the disposal of intelligent, enthusiastic poverty fighters. But here we are with a Poor People's March camped in Washington.

*Poverty & Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration*
by Sidney Baldwin
(University of North Carolina; $10)
*The Politics of Poverty*
by John C. Donovan
(Pegasus; $1.45)
*Poverty: Views from the Left*
edited by Jeremy Larner and Irving Howe
(Morrow; $5)
*Poverty Is Where the Money Is*
by Shirley Scheibla
(Arlington House; $5.95)
*Poverty: Power and Politics*
Edited by Chaim I. Waxman
(Grosset & Dunlap; $6.95)
*Permanent Poverty: An American Syndrome*
by Ben B. Seligman
(Quadrangle; $6.50)

At the heart of the EOA was the authorization of community action programs. Dissatisfaction with the War on Poverty is usually dissatisfaction with these programs, and from Michael Harrington on the left to Mrs. Shirley Scheibla on the right, everyone is dissatisfied. Liberals have come to see that the programs are mostly peripheral, that with all the services provided by community action agencies no appreciable reduction will be made in the number of people who live in poverty. On the other hand, critics on the right are alarmed by the efforts of some agencies to organize the poor. Where such organizing has been successful the poor have put pressure on local and state agencies to do better by them and have developed an identity and much needed solidarity. Many agencies, moreover, have on their payrolls radicals who advocate tearing down the whole society, and to people like Mrs. Scheibla the connection between the inflammatory rhetoric and burning cities is clear.

Mrs. Scheibla, of *Barron's Financial Weekly*, seems not to have let a single instance of malfeasance in the community action programs or in the Job Corps elude her, and her dossier is probably accurate. She is always ready with her FBI file on everyone of left-wing orientation in community action. She is sensible enough to avoid charging conspiracy, but will she never ask herself where all the people who think as she does are? Why is it that they do not get involved in community work? She regards the whole poverty program as an exercise in futility. If we will just let the good old private-enterprise system do its work the deserving will get theirs. As for the millions who have been and would continue to be left in misery – keep the system clean, that's the important thing. Mrs. Scheibla's book, with its smart-aleck title, is a disconcerting reminder that compassion is a quality as unequally distributed as income.

Curiously, Ben Seligman, so full of compassion that he is often annoyingly sentimental, seems ready to give up the fight. His book is called *Permanent Poverty*, and by the time he finishes surveying the various categories of the poor he has led the reader to believe that their plight is indeed permanent, that very little can or will be done. Or does he mean that little will be done if we continue to rely on the private-enterprise system and the traditional kinds of modifications?

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Seligman's book is part of the "Problems of American Society" series, and is a good example of how a writer can obscure his own point of view in trying to be comprehensive.

Poor thinking seems to be the cause of the disappointing results of community action and the Job Corps. A major reason for this, brought out in John Donovan's brief study of the formulation, enactment, and implementation of the poverty program, is that upon assuming office President Johnson was in a hurry to bring before the nation a dramatic program he could call his own. Whereas other sections of the EOA embodied ideas that were fairly familiar, community action was relatively new. Yet, as Donovan points out, both the President and Congress did not give any really critical consideration to the bill brought in by the presidential task force. Everyone overlooked the key question: whether community action would reduce poverty or insidiously perpetuate it.

Similarly, the concept of the Job Corps was accepted without any real scrutiny. Nostalgia about the old CCC had led to the Kennedy proposal of a Youth Employment Act that finally was consummated as Title I of the EOA. Times and conditions had changed greatly, but the Job Corps was based on the CCC idea. With due allowance for hindsight, it may still be asked how such irrelevance could have gone undetected.

Donovan, by the way, sees the late Robert Kennedy as a real hero in the effort to make the poverty program meaningful. When, in 1966, strong resistance was encountered in Congress and within the Executive Office, when President Johnson himself seemed to have abandoned the program, Kennedy was instrumental in gaining $700 million beyond what had been budgeted by the Administration.

Of all the writers in these books the one who commands the most respect is Harrington, whose essay "The Politics of Poverty" appears in both the Waxman and Larner – Howe anthologies. Negro youth make up the category of the poor whose problems are most urgent; unless they are brought closer to the mainstream, Harrington argues, American society will be gravely threatened. This requires jobs. It is important to remember, however, that while jobs are absolutely essential they are not a panacea; for one thing, as Larner shows with beautiful honesty and sympathy, the frame of mind of ghetto youth is such that "hustling" is far more attractive than working. Nevertheless, work must be made a realistic alternative, and jobs must be provided. But where will they come from? Despite the booms since World War II, unemployment has never been brought below four percent; and with ever-increasing automation the unemployment rate among Negroes keeps climbing. Harrington insists upon the ugency of this problem. Keynesian fiscal policies, he says, will not reach the automation poor; furthermore, Keynesian thinking is a simplification that tends to make us ignore the peculiar afflictions of the large black portion of that four percent.

It was not very long ago that it was confidently expected that Keynesian stimulation would make worry over unemployment anachronistic. One remembers Nixon's being taunted during the 1960 campaign for the slowed-down growth rate of the Eisenhower years. But then in the months before President Kennedy's death it was being impressed upon him, largely through Harrington's *The Other America*, that at least 30 million Americans were mired in poverty. Utilizing the studies initiated by Kennedy, President Johnson decided that war on this poverty was his kind of program.

But we are now at the point where we have got to take new approaches. Harrington calls for "social investments." He wants the federal government to undertake projects that would not only provide needed jobs but would "attack the environmental structure of poverty," thereby bringing about a transformation of the quality of American life. He implies that ghetto youth would be brought back by providing them with job opportunities growing out of the building of hospitals, schools, and new housing. Here, however, Harrington tends to be doctrinaire and somewhat shortsighted.

Suppose the Executive were given the authority and the means, and, either in its own name or through the intermediacy of the states, were prepared to make social investments on a significant scale. Contracts would be bid for and let, and the building would be carried out by construction corporations and craft unions, as is done now. Greatly increased public spending would create a very tight labor market, and employers and unions would be tempted to take on some of the unskilled unemployed of the ghettos. But would these people fare better than they do today? After all, we do have a booming (albeit war) economy. There are numerous firms that have welcomed Job Corps graduates. But the sad fact is, one cannot but conclude from these books, that a great number of genuine opportunities are thrown away. The culture of poverty wreaked its damage; chances are that through their *own* doing a large percentage of poor youth again will be unemployed and even more unemployable.

Many of the young who remain unemployed have been afflicted by a psychology of self-defeat. Yet doors must be kept open. Of late the Labor Department has indicated its awareness that an unemployable hired by a private firm may be a burden, and has offered to recompense companies for such losses. The National Alliance of Businessmen, grasping the larger social issues, has promoted the plan enthusiastically. But it is doubtful that there will follow a noticeable reduction in the number of unemployables.

What is needed are employers who can wait out absenteeism, indifference,

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destructiveness. No private business can do this on anything but a token level. Only an agency of the federal government can both provide jobs and indefinitely keep on the payroll people who in other circumstances would be turned back to the street. But the social investments that Harrington speaks of are too urgently needed to be the source of employment for marginal labor. A different kind of investment must be made.

For each of the 1,100 locations in which there is a community action agency, the federal government, perhaps through the OEO, should underwrite an enterprise whose primary purpose would be to provide dignified, useful employment to anyone who wants it. In most cases these should be manufacturing establishments and they should be located in or near ghettos. A wage pattern should be devised in each area that would make work worthwhile. Such plants, for example, could be partial suppliers of hundreds of non-critical items regularly purchased by the Defense Department: insignia, utensils and tools, cleaning equipment, sports equipment. It is interesting to note that authorization for engaging in economic enterprises is provided under the broad language of Title II of the EOA, which says that a community action program is any program that in addition to offering services and assistance provides "other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty through developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn and work." With all the ingenuity this country is capable of, arrangements can be made to compensate private businesses and unions that might be seriously affected. At this stage of our history it is not difficult for most people to realize that the cost of such endeavors will be less in the end than the cost of alienation and frustration that go unattended.

Providing help for those in the other categories of the poor – women with dependent children, the aged, the disabled – is a relatively simpler matter. At present these people make up the clientele of a thousand welfare depart-


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ments across the country. Those who have examined what is being done, such writers as Richard Cloward, Nathan Glazer, Martin Rein and others in the Waxman collection, find the present hodge-podge grossly inadequate; the amounts given in aid are not enough to enable the recipients to live in dignity and applicants frequently are deliberately debased and treated like colonials. No one questions that "welfare" and all that it signifies should be scrapped and replaced by some form of national income maintenance. One wishes that Seligman or Waxman or Larner and Howe had offered more on this subject. The latter book, however, contains an article by Robert Lekachman which briefly appraises several plans, of which the Tobin Plan, combining grants, preferential tax treatment, and incentives, seems the best. This scheme ought to be the basis of a plank on income maintenance at the Democratic convention.

One of the many merits of Sidney Baldwin's history of the Farm Security Administration is to make clear that we are now paying dearly for our refusal to face up to rural poverty during the thirties. An adjunct of the Department of Agriculture, the FSA had as its mission the mitigation of chronic rural poverty and had on its staff as determined a corps of reformers as could be found in Washington during the middle and late thirties. But from Rex Tugwell's original aim of effecting significant land reform its goals were cut back drastically as it became a prime target of conservatives in Congress. On the other hand, if FSA was determined to aid the rural poor much effort and money should have been directed towards the black sharecropper in the South. Baldwin shows, however, how de facto discrimination was practiced by regional and local staffs with the result that the people who were probably in greatest need of FSA programs were rarely touched by them. In Washington, in the interest of not jeopardizing the very existence of the agency, FSA officials decided they had to overlook the neglect of the Negro. Slowly, sharecropping families began to leave the land for the cities of the North, and so finally, with the problem infinitely more complex, we came to be where we are.

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# *The Good-Bad Old Days*

*by Isidore Silver*

In one memorable scene of an otherwise undistinguished Broadway play a few years ago, Jason Robards – portraying a college coed's version of F. Scott Fitzgerald – tottered forward drunkenly and declaimed, "God, how we loved Lindy!" That comment pretty well summed up the twenties, and Roy Cohn's first lamentable venture into authorship does about the same for the fifties.

*McCarthy*
by Roy Cohn
(New American Library; $5.95)
*The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter*
by Michael Paul Rogin
(MIT Press; $12.50)

Just as Lindy's solo flight across the Atlantic mesmerized his era (and several following ones) so did Indian Joe's snakedance across the political stage fascinate us. I think we relished Joe (at least those of us who never came into direct conflict with him) because he was at least something interesting and dynamic during those numbing Eisenhower years. Although we didn't want to admit it, we probably secretly reveled in his monumental *chutzpah*. Today, we watch a movie like "Point of Order" or a television special like "The Confrontation" with the queasy feeling that McCarthyism was, in essence, elaborate political camp. If Lindy was "pure" hero, then what else was Joe but pure villain?

*McCarthy* reveals little that is new; the novel elements are relatively insignificant. If Cohn wanted to refurbish the tarnished image of his ex-boss, he should have done a detailed study of both the man and the era instead of a gabby recollection of a McCarthy who couldn't have been as dull as Cohn makes him. This raises the question of just why the book was written. Perhaps Cohn wanted to retreat into a more flamboyant past from his recent business involvements with Fifth Avenue Coach and Lionel Trains. Perhaps he wanted to continue an awesome string of 1968 "firsts" ("his first magazine article" and "his first Letter to the Editor") which are hilariously detailed in probably the most ingenuous biographical blurb of our time. Perhaps he wanted to counter the effects of the mass media, which still take occasional pokes at his hero.

After more than 275 pages of recollection and minor personal confession, Cohn suddenly turns historical pundit:

> "Since his day, Cuba has fallen to the Communists. . . . Nuclear explosions echo over China and the Soviet Union [does he really have evidence that Russia is violating the Test Ban Treaty?]. American men are defending the borders of South Vietnam against Communist aggression. North Korea has laid down the gauntlet to us."

At another point, we are warned that Communist organizations "were and still are – a vital part of the Soviet propaganda framework." He concludes, "Has not history already begun McCarthy's vindication?" It has not. Neither has Goldwater, Reagan or Joe Pool, putative keepers of the flame. In fact, no one except Cohn seems much interested in vindicating McCarthy or in repeating his depredations.

The book is not a bad yarn; it is characterized by a deft lawyerlike twist that gives it slightly more dimension than normally attends idle political chatter. In a criminal case, an adroit defense counsel will minimize the im-



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pact of the prosecutor's evidence by admitting in advance certain damaging things about his client. Thus, Cohn does depict McCarthy as wild, impulsive and occasionally cruel, but such were the excesses of a fundamentally sincere crusader. After all, for the sake of impact, Joe had to fake it a bit – "it must be understood that . . . McCarthy was a salesman."

To counter the numerous rumors that McCarthy used anti-communism as a political gimmick, Cohn replies:

> "Joe McCarthy bought Communism in much the same way as other people purchase a new automobile. The salesman showed him the model; he looked at it with interest, examined it more closely, kicked at the tires, sat at the wheel, squiggled in the seat, asked some questions; and bought."

As Joe himself put it, "I was buying the package." Just as the American falls in love with the car or the package, after buying it, so Joe became dedicated to his purchase. The remainder of the book consists of a grumbling defense of McCarthy as a typical (though embattled) American who was punished for quite American-like acts by his moral inferiors.

Professor Rogin is concerned with the broader question of whether McCarthyism was a sometime thing or a phenomenon deeply expressive of neo-fascist "mass" discontents, and therefore likely to recur. His book is an excellent treatment of the applicability of "status" analysis to American politics. Certain historians and sociologists have viewed McCarthy's supporters as being social malcontents who operated outside of customary grievance channels and whose mobilization by reactionary forces created fundamental problems for American democracy. "Pluralists" such as Daniel Bell, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Richard Hofstadter believe that American democracy works because of the existence of numerous organized groups within the polity, each making certain limited demands upon the establishment and each playing within the broad rules of electoral politics. Democratic representation is thus allegedly achieved *within* groups, whose elites press reasonable demands, respond to needs of their members, and at the same time function to contain irrational impulses. "Without groups, disorder and totalitarianism are real threats to the pluralists."

Pluralists perceive Joe McCarthy as a mobilizer of mass sentiment, and destroyer of group and political loyalties. His attacks on "the establishment," on the limitations of the democratic political process, all were seen as expressions of a fundamental inability by large numbers of people to accept 20th-century industrialism and the broad constraints of accommodations necessary to democratic life. Ironically, McCarthyism is viewed as the most recent manifestation of the same threatening irrational impulse that animated agrarian radicalism, Progressivism, and Populism, ostensible reform movements.

Against this, Rogin analyzes voting patterns in Wisconsin, and North and South Dakota to argue that McCarthy was fundamentally a conservative Republican who utilized the traditional conservative party base for his support and, in addition, managed to attract many lower-middle-class Catholics because of the Communism issue. "McCarthyism was not a radical movement outside normal American political processes," Rogin concludes. He does not view the great reform movements of the late 19th and 20th centuries as radical attempts to restructure Society but (despite some of the rhetoric) as limited attacks upon the inequities of nascent industrial capitalism. "Populist rhetoric and the Populist program were anti-industrial capitalist not anti-industrial."

Rogin convincingly argues that "lower class authoritarianism" may exist in the abstract (as numerous polls about attitudes toward McCarthy and civil liberties demonstrated), but that it is not particularly effective. He is convinced – and convinces us – that "mass" political action is generally issue-oriented and that the pluralists are wrong when they assert that non-group activity is "irrational." Unfortunately, his offhand comments on the growth of the civil rights movement, while probably correct, only superficially support his thesis that new demands initially tend to "boil over" in dramatic fashion and only later become institutionalized.

Rogin and Cohn converge upon one crucial point, the inability of the American establishment to articulate its values, gain broad social acceptance, and repel intruders. Rogin notes that the Republican national political leadership buckled before McCarthy's windbag onslaught and Cohn graphically demonstrates the point, especially in his discussion of the Army-McCarthy hearings. The great personal havoc wreaked by McCarthy was clearly more directly related to the vagaries of the American political system and to Eisenhower's personal political timidity than to either "mass" discontent or Communism as a national issue. A form of McCarthyism is sure to arise where leaders are personally unconcerned with civil liberties and fail to understand their educational function in a democracy, which is always less than perfect. When a significant part of the establishment – represented at the moment by the other McCarthy – bravely enunciates the issues, the people will not necessarily be far behind.

Both books are instructive quite apart from their ostensible concerns. Rogin's title is misleading, for his analysis does not concern the relationship between McCarthy and American intellectuals, but rather the reaction of a certain segment of the intellectual elite to the "ism." Cohn's book raises the question of just why a talented Jewish lawyer (and, like most lawyers, a quasi-intellectual) perceived his role to be that of "standing up" for American values. Perhaps he thought it necessary to be a witness to the "fact" that all Jews are not communists, and that there is no conflict between the traditional social concerns of Judaism and 200 percent Americanism. And perhaps Bell and Lipset fear for the fate of the despised Jew, traditionally dependent upon a strong central state for protection of his rights and traditionally fearful of "popular" anti-Semitic attitudes. Perhaps they fear a repetition of the Nazi experience in America – although they recognize McCarthy's personal inability to have led such a movement. The questions of status and role of the American Jew – especially in his role as intellectual – may be the real concerns of both books.



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# *Running Scared*

*by William Hamilton*

There are two reasons these days for writing a book on religion: You have something to say and are willing to wait out the two years between first draft and first reviews in order to get some good criticism, or, a wise publisher, sensing that God is not dead in the marketing field, persuades you to escalate an old essay or piece of journalism into something in hard covers that might, by virtue of Mike Douglas or "Today," manage a nice two or three months of hot sales. It is not inevitable that the first kind are all good and the second all bad, but this is the case with the two books in hand.

*Excerpts from the Diaries of the Late God*
by Anthony Towne
(Harper & Row; $3.95)
*Exploration into God*
by John A. T. Robinson
(Stanford; $4.95)

It's strange. *Excerpts from the Diaries of the Late God* appears to have everything going for it: a blurb from Malcolm Boyd, a dedication to William Stringfellow, a good word for Jim Pike, a bad word for Norman Vincent Peale, soundness on race and the war. And it's religious humor to boot.

Anthony Towne is a poet and the author, several years ago, of the piece called "God is Dead in Georgia," a *New York Times*-style obituary that originally appeared in *Motive*, and which was unaccountably reprinted by the *Times* itself. If you saw that, and found it funny, this book will appeal to you. If you felt, as I did (and as Benjamin DeMott has recently argued), that the obituary was largely without taste, humor, or perception, then this book will fall flat. It is a collection of fragments from the diaries of God, who is worried about the world, the church, and his own health. He finally decides he has to die. Before he does, he makes a few jokes, but he is by and large a boring personage, who writes in a kind of wowie-gee-whiz! style that makes him sound like Sally Fields in "The Flying Nun."

Whatever else one may say about the death-of-God theologies, they take God seriously. Towne's dying God is an ass, not worth killing, not worth losing, not worthy of having his death remembered as a sombre and haunting mythical event. Humor is deeply serious at some level; Chaplin, Lenny Bruce, and Tiny Tim remind us of that. Towne's book is not serious enough to be funny and thus cannot make us laugh or cry, cannot tell us either what it is to have a god, or to lose one. Yet Mr. Towne appears to be a charming and good man. I look forward to reading, one day, a book from his own hand. Maybe this disaster could have been averted if he had not tried to edit someone else's work.

Bishop Robinson's recent book is another matter. He has weathered the post-*Honest to God* silliness with gaiety and grace, enduring the mutterings of Archbishops and Oxford dons from the right, the scorn of the B.B.C.'s resident atheists from the left, and has put into our hands what I take to be the most important theological book of the past twelve months. It has not had much visibility since it appeared, partly because it was published by a university press, partly because, when it did appear, the publicity organs of the religious establishment (*Time's* religion page, the *New York Times'* religious staff) were busy recommending as an antidote to all that nonsense about the death of God, a recent German import, the so-called theology of hope or theology of the future.

But this balloon collapsed, and now that we may look beyond newspapers and magazines for authoritative discussion of belief and non-belief, *Exploration into God* may come into its own as the best contemporary intro-

# *The Average Egyptian Faces Death*

(From an Article in *Life*)

Anubis, jackal-headed god
of mummification, will tenderly
eviscerate my corpse, oil it, salt it,
soothe it with unguent gods' tears and honey.

My soul will be a ba-bird,
a shadow, free to move in and out
of my muralled house,
though it's no pyramid.

In the court of Osiris the gods
will weigh my heart
for virtue; in the Field of Reeds
baboons worship Re,
and barley grows, and
beetle-headed Khepri, god of early morning,
kisses the misted canals.

Atum the creator has set
a smoky partition in the midst of things,
but the Nile flows through;
death has no other name than *ankh*, life.

JOHN UPDIKE



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duction, from the Protestant perspective, of what the problem of God looks like today.

Robinson does two important things. First, he raises the central question: What exactly have men meant, in the past, when they used the word "God" authentically? Was the word the reality, or was there a reality behind the word? If so, what was it? Was it something in the self's response, like awe? Was it a self-world relation, like dependence? Or was it something really "out there," with a reality comparable somehow to the reality of the physical world? Robinson appears to believe that "God" did in fact refer to a reality "out there" (this belief is what he calls theism), but that we can no longer claim such a belief for ourselves. Yet the word "God" remains, and Robinson appears to move somewhat elusively between the subjective and objective poles as he tries to relocate and redefine a new reality behind the old word. Sometimes the new sounds like the old rejected theism, as in his reference to an "overmastering reality," and sometimes Robinson slides back and speaks of "an ultimate relatedness in the very structure of our being."

But this is fruitful unclarity, and the right questions are being asked: Can we use the old word "God," should we avoid it and get its old work done with new words, or should we perhaps propose new redefinitions and then continue with the new wine in the old wineskin-word? Robinson invites us to see the problem of God today in the light of the classic debate between Alice and Humpty-Dumpty, when the latter said, "When I use a word it means exactly what I say, no more and no less." I'm inclined to side with Alice here and to say like Bishop Robinson, Harvey Cox, and Daniel Callahan, that we don't have this sovereign freedom over our words, that "glory" cannot mean a "knock-down argument," that there is a morality of language that does not permit us to redefine God in such a way that he becomes believable but unrelated to what men have said about him in our past. Here the radical theologians show their conservative side.

The second fruitful theme in this book is Robinson's attempt to find a common ground between what he calls the secularizing and the speculative-mystical (he is thinking mainly of Teilhard) tendencies in modern Protestant and Catholic theology. Both hold, he claims, that standing before God and being in the world are very close to the same thing, and he cites, as example, the recent novel by Petru Dumitriu, *Incognito*, in particular the worldly love-mysticism espoused by the ex-communist Sebastian in that book. What Robinson wants to say, in pointing to this example of love-mysticism in the world (the author of the book has an Orthodox background, and the shadow of Father Zossima can be discerned in the distance) is to say that politics and mysticism need not be at odds (as they appear to be in our too easy polarity between the new radicals and the hippies). But Sebastian, in the novel, says more than Robinson wants to say. Robinson wishes to find a way of redefining and re-using the old name (God), while Sebastian (and I would agree) claims that the problem is not to find new ways of using the old name, but to locate or build new communities where the old reality, without the name if need be, can be lived.

If we are on the edge of a new, post-political mysticism; if fear, or political frustration, or the senseless deaths of the good men among us, are driving a whole generation out of history into jail, Canada, or private attempts to obliterate the self, Robinson's explorations can take on the wise men of this new world – Norman Brown, Marshall McLuhan, Alan Watts, and perhaps even Tolkien – helping us debate in a fresh way the old questions as to whether self or history or human communities or gods are possible for us.

# Correspondence

## Revolution and Counterrevolution

*Sirs:*

Just what is Professor Brzezinski up to and why has his article ("Revolution and Counterrevolution – But Not Necessarily About Columbia!" June 1) appeared in *The New Republic*? Taken at face value this cryptic piece is little more than a fuzzy lecture – too general and too short to educate, yet authoritatively presented and extremely smug.

Reading between the lines it would seem that since (1) he teaches at Columbia, (2) focuses attention on Columbia in the title, and (3) builds up to vague but dramatic assertions about meaningless "counterrevolutions" and their "historically irrelevant" participants, Brzezinski's article is intended to convey a derogatory message about the affair at Columbia. Perhaps. (If not, why has it appeared just now – from a Professor at Columbia, no less?) But whatever it meant, why doesn't he come out and say it? More importantly, why has *NR* published an obscure article that is either highly at odds with its own informed stand on the issue, or so meaningless on its surface that one must play games to decipher it?

*Paul Hirsch*
*Ann Arbor, Mich.*

What we think of Professor Brzezinski's arguments and his evaluation of the student movement will depend on how much we can trust him as a prophet. . . . His method of predicting is very simple: he always sees the future as the present, except a "little more so." He has a political scientist's love of prophecy. When he wrote his first book, Stalinist totalitarianism was still unimpaired in Russia. The idea of the book, *Permanent Purge*, was that purges would continue for they were essential to the regime. Today, when there are no purges in Russia, but the country has become heavily

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bureaucratized, he believes that bureaucracy will become so excessive in the Soviet Union that the regime will lose its resilience and it will degenerate. Similarly, he sees the future of America as the extension of the present. His fancy phrase "technetronic society," should not mislead anyone. From the little we know about his ideas of the future it seems it will be really very much like the present. Of course, he may be right, for we who have no way of knowing the future cannot dismiss any prediction out of hand, but it is necessary to point out his past errors in prediction in order to see how much confidence we can have in his word.

In his three-page article he divides with admirable simplicity all past revolutions into two categories: past and future oriented revolutions: The French in the 19th, the Bolsheviks in the 20th century made positive revolutions, while the Nazis, the Chinese Red Guards and the present student leaders are essentially reactionary. As far as the Chinese are concerned, we cannot even grant that Brzezinski can evaluate the present, to say nothing about his ability to evaluate their past, so we should simply disregard that example. However, what is striking about the other revolutions is to what extent they were the products of a mixture of progressive and reactionary ideas. Marxism was and remained a highly ambivalent ideology which managed to channel anti-industrial, and therefore reactionary, sentiments for the purpose of industrialization. Nazism, which was certainly a "reactionary revolution," nevertheless managed to complete the modernization of Germany, by undermining small-scale agriculture and industry and enormously advancing large scale enterprise.

It follows then, that if one wants to draw a parallel between past revolutionaries and present student leaders – a parallel, by the way, which appears to this writer much less useful than it does to Mr. Brzezinski – the first thing one must conclude is that the ideology of the students has progressive and reactionary features. What elements in their thinking have relevance to the future is extremely difficult to say. It is quite conceivable that their vision of the future is in no way less correct than Brzezinski's. Their record of predicting is certainly not worse. It would seem that the chief objects of Brzezinski's ire, the intellectuals who hesitate between the students and the establishment, have a case; and Brzezinski, who has never had qualms about siding with the authorities, deserves no credit for it.

The best part of Brzezinski's article is his analysis of how to deal with the rebels. But of course, this is no surprise: we always knew that Mr. Brzezinski had few peers as a tactician of the establishment.

*Peter Kenez*
*University of California*
*Santa Cruz*

Three cheers for Professor Brzezinski's fine parody of the "new" political vocabulary. People who can't write clearly can rarely think clearly either, which may account, in part, for the sorry mess at the State Department. I do think, however, that *The New Republic* might have provided certain annotations (in English) or at least a short précis of the argument. There are, I take it, two points to Brzezinski's thesis: 1) that most intellectuals end up getting sucked in by the bad guys, and 2) that if the government had called out the militia at the first sign of trouble (instead of resorting to phony legal responses) that things would be a lot healthier generally.

*John R. Garson*
*Boston, Mass.*

The ideas espoused by Mr. Zbigniew Brzezinski are incredible. It could almost qualify as a sort of Iron Mountain Report type of put on. . . . He is ready to help put down any uppity folk be they colonials, students or blacks. He appears to be completely blind to moral questions except in terms of manipulation through values to keep a status quo, any status quo, in operation.

*Bob Potter*
*Bowling Green, Ky.*

*In reply . . .*

The reactions of the four correspondents are hilarious.

1. Mr. Hirsch is indignant because *The New Republic* does not practice censorship;

2. Professor Kenez faults me for not being infallible, in addition to some other *ad hominem* arguments;

3. Mr. Garson sets himself up as a decipherer of my "real" views, presumably on the assumption that other readers are less intelligent than he;

4. Mr. Potter apparently wrote his letter *before* reading my piece.

I did say in my article that some intellectuals were rather more excitable than reasonable!

*Zbigniew Brzezinski*

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## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Peter Michelson *is in the Department of English at Notre Dame University.* Paul Marx *is a professor at New Haven College.* Isidore Silver *is professor of law and environment at the University of Massachusetts.* William Hamilton *is a radical theologian, now teaching religion and other matters at New College, Sarasota, Florida.* John Updike's *latest book is* Couples.



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## Keyserling Speaks Again

*Sirs:*

By now, Arthur Schlesinger has proved that Vice President Humphrey at one time or another called for both a Great Society for Asia and a New Deal for Asia. But Mr. Schlesinger's statement in your issue of June 29 that I had given him "implied assurance that the Vice President had never said any such thing" is a deliberate, one hundred percent misrepresentation. My communications on the subject have admitted throughout that the Vice President may well have issued such a call. I made only the point that it was a smear for Schlesinger to criticize such a call in the same sentence in which he indicts the Vice President for "zealously supporting military escalation in Vietnam." My charge that it was a smear to combine these two entirely separate points in one sentence might have been argued on its merits; it provided no excuse for unvarnished distortion of what I said.

*Leon H. Keyserling*
*Washington, D. C.*

## Protean Candidate

*Sirs:*

Irving Kristol's case for Hubert Humphrey (June 8) may be just the historic document we have all been waiting for—the definitive statement of the American liberal turned status quo apologist. It apparently does not bother Mr. Kristol that his protean candidate is at once the choice of big business, big labor, the Southern governors, and the political bosses – it does not bother him, because he thinks they represent a majority. Did they, it would be a curious majority, but they do not. Humphrey, and it must surely give Mr. Kristol pause, was not even able to win a primary in his home state of South Dakota, and his write-in totals in other states have been lower than the write-in totals Eugene McCarthy has gotten from Republican voters. This is the sort of performance that has won Harold Stassen his richly comic reputation. . . .

*John Martin*
*Brooklyn, N.Y.*

## Kauffmann, *from page 31*

of course. Sex was available to him before he could consummate it, and his struggle for sexual competence prefigures his struggle for self. After he achieves it, there is an affair that ends with an abortion. Another affair produces another pregnancy, followed by marriage. (The marriage fails, and there is a touching section in which he takes his two-year-old daughter to stay with his aged parents, a section that is sad not because he is leaving his child for a while but because now he sees his parents doubly: the shapers of his privacies who are now faintly comic, faintly repellent strangers.) But the most vivid, subtle episode with a woman concerns an actress whom he encounters twice, with a ten-year intermission. In its estrangement through sex, its gentle loneliness, it is a Bergman film in little.

With the end of the war, Weiss faces the guilt that had been gestating in him and that now he has the leisure, the safety, to articulate:

> "I had grown up to be destroyed, but I had escaped destruction. . . . If I had not been imprisoned or murdered or shot on the battlefield I had at least to bear my guilt. . . . I heard the voice of the dead Hoderer [a youthful friend]. . . . Now that nothing more can happen to you you dare to open your eyes. But your suffering is in vain, you are not worth the horror that overcomes you."

But even the luxuriance of self-flagellation must end, if one is to live at all, must be transmuted into some kind of activity. Language, which as theme and metaphor persists through the book, is his way out of the cave. Even before his exile, he says of himself: "My manner of speech had never become identified with any region, for we often moved from city to city." In Sweden, he tries to write in Swedish of his childhood:

> "The places where the events I wanted to describe had occurred were far away and had become foreign to me. So even a foreign language might suit them."

In 1947, at the age of thirty, he goes to Paris.

> "The language that had surrounded me for the last few years had evaporated. . . . I had again to start afresh, in pidgin French, lying in my wicker basket at the roaring edge of the street."

The ironic freedom that comes to him at last is through accepting the language of the country that had made him an exile.

> "The language that now asserted itself was the language I had learned at the beginning of my life . . . that now belonged to me alone and had nothing more to do with the land where I had grown up. . . . At this moment the war became a thing of the past and I had survived the years of flight."

This book was written in German. (And the collaborative translation of E. B. Garside, Alastair Hamilton, and Christopher Levenson is in sensitive English.)

I note the persistence of film images in Weiss' life. (He has himself made some short films.) Douglas Fairbanks, Jackie Coogan, and Katharine Hepburn are early divinities, Carné's *Quai des Brumes* (1938) "expressed our position, it was the great film that marked the end of a European epoch." And in the last pages in Paris, he finds himself standing between "two poles which had been there from the very beginning, the pole of the *Thief of Baghdad* and the pole of *Tabu* [Murnau's South Seas film], the pole of irrepressible life and the pole of transcience."

This antinomy is typical of the man who carried Hesse's *Steppenwolf* with him wherever he traveled. Hesse's search for equilibrium, between the secret and the seen, the controlled and the uncontrollable, is dominant in Weiss. *Exile* is flecked with occasional clichés of pathos, even of condescension, but it is a unique antinomic addition to the European literature of the war years: the old, old search of a youth for selfhood, seen here in the reflected light of our century's huge fires.



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C4—N.Y. STAGECOACH POSTER, horses, coach illus. 40¢

C5—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—Brooklyn ... 40¢

C6—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—1777—Phila.—English want sailors ..... 35¢

C7—AMER. REVOLUTION PROCLAMATION—Phila. —Howe orders 8 P.M. curfew ..... 25¢

C8—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—Phila.—English want "Rangers" 14 x 13 ..... 40¢

C9—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING for home guard .... 25¢

C10—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—orders accept *Continental money; help with fires; help build fortifications*—1776—24x19—rare American orders $1

C11—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER — Chimney sweeps ..... 25¢

C12—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER — Howe tells Americans cannot buy certain foods; need permit for medicine; 18 x 14—unusual, rare ..... 50¢

C14—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER . . . 15 x 14 —Hempstead, N.Y.—unusual appeal ..... 35¢

C16—JACKSON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, *illustrated* ..... 40¢

C17—SLAVE AUCTION—1859 N. C. "owner to reside in NORTH" ..... 35¢

C19—TAYLOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, ballad ..... 25¢

C20—RUNAWAY SLAVE POSTER—Reward, 1853 ... 25¢

C23—THEATRICAL POSTER, Joe Jefferson ..... 25¢

C25—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER — tells Washington attack anticipated, Eagle illus. ..... 35¢

C27—1870—MENU with prices, steak 15¢ ..... 10¢

C28—MEDICAL BROADSIDE — 1st medical announcement in America 1677—symptoms, remedies—quaint, rare . . . 17 x 11 ..... $1

C29—PONY EXPRESS POSTER—illustrated, rates ... 35¢

C30—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—TEXAS 1861—rare ..... 40¢

C31—TEXAS PROCLAMATION — 1861 — "SHOULD TEXAS SECEDE?" ..... 40¢

C32—WELLS-FARGO RECEIPT FOR GOLD—unusual . 15¢

C33—ELECTION POSTER—HARRISON presidential, 1840, cider, log cabin ..... 35¢

C34—AMER. REVOLUTION NOTICE — "Cornwallis Retreating" ..... 10¢

C35—REWARD POSTER Pinkerton for Perry "nerviest train robber" ..... 25¢

C36—VIGILANCE POSTER list of bad-men—1868 30¢

C37—ADAMS EXPRESS POSTER, "ship gold" ..... 30¢

C38—BUFFALO BILL WILD WEST SHOW, illustrated 30¢

C39—RAILROAD POSTER—Wells-Fargo Coach..... 25¢

C40—BATHING SUITS—1885—seashore styles ... 25¢

C41—AUTOMOBILE CLOTHING WORN in 1900—3 illustrated ads ..... 25¢

C42—CALAMITY JANE POSTER—exhibition ..... 20¢

C43—REWARD POSTER—*train robbers, murderers* 25¢

C44—ANNIE OAKLEY EXHIBITION POSTER—her picture, rifle, medals ..... 35¢

C45—REWARD POSTER—r. r. train robbers, loot 25¢

C46—REWARD POSTER—Doolin, Dalton rob train 25¢

C47—REWARD POSTER—Robber killed engineer 25¢

C48—REWARD POSTER — Tom Nixon, notorious Union Pacific R.R. robber ..... 25¢

C49—BUFFALO BILL POSTER—11 illustrations, Indians, Badmen, a la TV ..... 35¢

C50—INDIAN SQUAW POSTER—In full regalia ... 20¢

C51—PONY EXPRESS POST MARKS, details enlarged, flying pony ..... 20¢

C52—SHOWBOAT HANDBILL—4 illustrated pages *of exciting entertainment that floated into river*-bank towns, Important Americana ..... 75¢

C73—CIVIL WAR NEWS POSTER—1861 — "Fort Sumter Surrenders"—full account ..... 35¢

C74—REWARD POSTER by Governor of Mo. for Jesse or Frank James or any of their gang...train was robbed, conductor killed, 1881 . . . very scarce item ..... 25¢

C75—APPEAL TO INDIANS—1681 by Wm. Penn 25¢

C76—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN HANDBILL—1880 —Democrats—illustrated — imitates showboat poster and is humorous . . . rare ..... 20¢

C77—CIVIL WAR CARTOON POSTER — Cavalry chases Jeff Davis, disguised as milkmaid. Laugh no matter what side you favor, 20 x 14 ..... 35¢

360—MATRIMONIAL MOOD CHART GUIDE for servants; old, humorous ..... 25¢

361—WELLS, FARGO CHECKS, Carson & Va. City.... 15¢

362—HANDBILL—Clark auto—1910—illustrated.. 25¢

363—HANDBILL—*Parry auto—1910—illustrated* . 25¢

364—HANDBILL—Cadillac auto—1910—illus. .... 25¢

365—HANDBILL—Jackson auto—1910—illustrated 25¢

366—HANDBILL—Circus, illustrated, bike on wire 25¢

367—CARTOON—1906—predicts Sunday everyone busy auto repairs, illustrated ..... 25¢

368—HANDBILL—Flanders auto—1910—illus..... 25¢

369—HANDBILL—Ford—1905—illustrated ..... 25¢

370—HANDBILL—Stevens—Duryea auto—illus..... 25¢

371—HANDBILL—White auto—1912—quaint illus. 25¢

372—HANDBILL—Chalmers auto—1911—illus..... 25¢

373—HANDBILL—Winton auto—1912—illustrated 25¢

374—HANDBILL—Pope auto—1905—illustrated ... 25¢

375—HANDBILL—Ford auto—5 models — from $260 ..... 25¢

376—GEORGE WASHINGTON—1791 — silhouette from life, rare ..... 25¢

377—MARTHA WASHINGTON — 1791 — silhouette *from life, rare* ..... 25¢

T378—MATADOR, Bullfight, in full colors, 15¼ x 11½ ..... 75¢

379—ENLISTMENT POSTER—1777—Amer. Rev. .... 30¢

380—ENLISTMENT POSTER—Revolution, British ask 'serve during rebellion' ..... 30¢

381—GATLING GUN POSTER—illustration, comp.. 20¢

382—LADIES CORSET ADVERTISEMENTS, illustrated, now funny, once serious ..... 25¢

383—TAVERN POSTER — 1760 — prices fixed by Court ..... 30¢

384—CIVIL WAR POSTER — 1863 — gives prices farmers must accept from Army ..... 25c

385—LINCOLN STATEMENT—1843—says Congress cannot interfere with slavery ..... 30¢

386—HANDBILL—shows 4 negroes or 2 horses operate Cotton Press ..... 30¢

387—PRIVATEERS—instructions—signed J. Monroe, Scty of State ..... 15¢

388—REWARD POSTER 1797 ½¢ Runaway Seaman ..... 20¢

389—OLD ADVERTISEMENT—Pneumatic Bust— illustrated (for women) ..... 15¢

390—CARTER HANDBILL — *uplifted skirt, risque* for its time, humorous ..... 15¢

391—CARTOON—1774—designed by B. Franklin, rare & interesting ..... 30¢

392—HANDBILL—1870—horses used for machine power, illustrated ..... 20¢

393—FIRST US PATENT—1790—signed G. Wash. 20¢

394—AIRSHIP c 1850—illustration is fantastic prediction, crossing ocean ..... 20¢

395—PRIZE FIGHT—1886—woodcut J. L. Sullivan revives opponent ..... 25¢

396—PHONOGRAPH POSTER—1899—Edison, 1st phonograph, 13½ x 11, illustrated ..... 40¢

397—FOOTBALL POSTER—1880—quaint uniforms, rare, illustrations, 17 x 11 ..... 40¢

398—INDIAN illustrated ad of Sapollo, quickly *civilizes Indians* ..... 20¢

399—RIFLE HANDBILL, shoots 26 shots in 60 seconds, illustrated ..... 20¢

400—REWARD POSTER—person attempted assassinate W. Seward, Secty State ..... 25¢

401—MAGNA CARTA & complete translation .... $1.50

402—POSTER—1924—Paul Whiteman & George Gershwin give Concert ..... 30¢

403—EXHIBITION POSTER—1845—laughing gas demonstration ..... 25¢

404—*FENCE WIRE POSTER, rare, historical* ..... 30¢

405—LINCOLN & HAMLIN 1860 campaign ribbon, rare picture Lincoln ..... 20¢

406—LINCOLN's Letter to Mrs. Bixby, 1864 .... 25¢

407—SHARPSHOOTERS — 1861 — scenes training *Civil War, rifle used* ..... 25¢

408—MOVIE POSTER—'The Sheik' Rudolf Valentino, photos ..... 85¢

409—HANDBILL 1843—shows costumes of seaman in play, unique ..... 30¢

410—ORDER 1864—Confederate, send slaves to work ..... 30¢

411—HANDBILL—c. 1900—2 pictures—boys on pot —'I drink union beer & I drink scab beer'—odd & humorous appeal by Union ..... 40¢

412—RED AUTO HANDBILL—1907—illustrated .... 25¢

413—HANDBILL—Franklin-auto-air-cooled eng.... 25¢

414—HANDBILL—St. Louis auto—illustrated ..... 25¢

415—HANDBILL—Courier auto—illustrated ..... 25¢

416—HANDBILL—Rambler—1907—illustrated .... 25¢

417—HANDBILL—man proposes to woman because served Beef Extract—illustrated, c. 1880 ... 25¢

418—HANDBILL—Men's shirt collars—1851—illustrated, scarce ..... 25¢

**Minimum order $2. Add 25¢ for mailing tube. 25¢ for catalog listing over 500 posters.**

**PIONEER HISTORICAL SOCIETY DEPT. NR HARRIMAN, TENN. 37748**

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